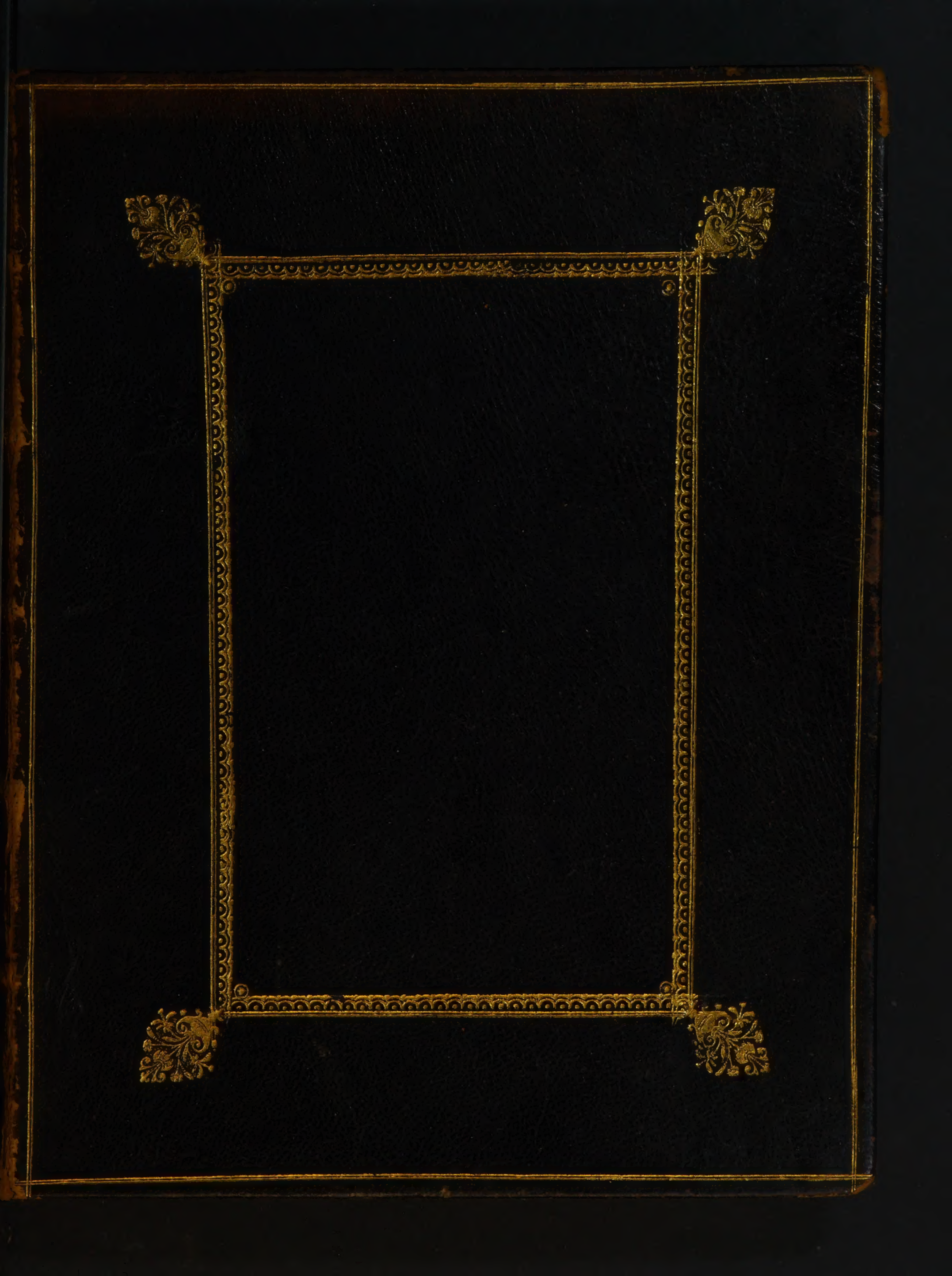



RIGHTS
OF
PROTEST
DISSENT








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[DEFOE]—Rights of Protestant Dissenters, Vindication of their Rights to an Absolute Toleration, from the *Observations of* SIR H. MACKWORTH in his Treatise intitul'd *Peace at Home*, all the parts in 1 vol, 4to, LARGE PAPER, *fine old gilt red morocco binding, Harleian gold tooling on sides, gilt edges*, RARE, £1 8s 1704—5

On Taxing the People, Quakers of New England, Liberties of the People, Principles of the Government in Church and State, etc., etc.

THE RIGHTS OF *Proteſtant Diſſenters.*

In Two Parts.

THE FIRST
Being the Caſe of the Diſſenters Review'd.

THE SECOND,
A Vindication of their Right to an Abſolute Toleration, from the Objections of Sir H. MACKWORTH, in his Treatiſe, intitul'd, *Peace at Home.*

PART I.

Refrain from theſe Men, and let them alone: for if this Counſel, or this Work be of Men, it will come to nought. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; leſt haply ye be found even to fight againſt God. ACTS V. 38, 39.

LONDON, Printed in the Year M.DCC.IV.

TO THE

QUEEN'S

Most Excellent Majesty.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Dissenters are fully persuaded, that Your Majesty, who does not deny Foreign States your Protection, whose Government administers Justice impartially to the Injur'd and Oppress'd, and whose Concern extends to the meanest of your Subjects, will not take it ill, that amidst the greater Business with which the Affairs of Britain and Christendom fill up your time, you are apply'd to in behalf of a considerable Body of your People, wrong'd by Misrepresentations, that carry a Charge of equal Disaffection to your Government, Ingratitude and Folly, and which, if true, wou'd justly forfeit your Majesty's Protection

and Favor. They therefore think themſelves oblig'd, in Juſtice to your Majeſty and their own Reputation, to take this method to prevent any wrong Notions concerning their Loyalty from being obtruded on your Majeſty, by any under the falſe Colors of Faithfulneſs to your Intereſt and the Truth.

Your Majeſty, who have had it ſo often publickly inſinuated to You of late, that the Proteſtant Diſſenters are Enemys to our Conſtitution and dangerous to your Majeſty's Government, cannot but take Satisfaction to find it contradicted, and to be aſſur'd, that if there are any among your People ſo ſtupid, as to be inſenſible of the Advantages of the beſt conſtituted Government the World can boaſt of, or ſo incredibly baſe as to have any ill Deſigns againſt your Majeſty's Adminiſtration, unhappily fill'd up with too much Toil and Difficulty, to create the Envy, or the Unthankfulneſs and Diſſatiſfaction of your Subjects to render it uneaſy to you: I ſay, that if there be any ſuch, they are not ſo many as they have been repreſented, nor are the Few that deſerve this odious Character among their Number. An Aſſurance that your Majeſty will receive with the greater Satisfaction, inaſmuch as Diſloyalty would be aggravated by Ingratitude in them, who enjoy ſo many Bleſ-

ſings under your Majeſty's Reign. In this the Diſſenters think themſelves peculiarly happy, that a Juſtification of their Principles, which is a Duty incumbent upon them, is not likely to be wholly ungrateful to Your Majeſty.

Nor will it be altogether uſeleſs to your Majeſty, who find it indiſpenſably neceſſary to be inform'd of the true Characters of Partys and Perſons, to ſee the Principles of a Set of Men here repreſented, in order to your Majeſty's forming a juſt Judgment, whether They have any that ſhould raiſe a Diſtruſt of their Loyalty, and render it neceſſary for Your Security, to have *a more watchful Eye over them, and to make a narrower Inſpection into their Proceedings.*

And tho your Majeſty has been addreſs'd not very long ſince, in a Pompous Dedication, to take this Courſe with the Diſſenters, and have had ſeveral unwarrantable and invidious Concluſions from conteſted Facts and Principles, ſuggeſted to You by an unknown Author, to argue the Neceſſity of ſuch a Method; yet your Majeſty will eaſily perceive, upon a Review of the innocent Principles of the Diſſenters, that ſuch Counſels can come from none, but one that is not that Friend to your Majeſty's Government he pretends to be, or whoſe intemperate Heat has at leaſt made him a miſtaken one.

But

But for the Diſſenters in the mean time to be ſilent, when ſuch Inſinuations are made to Your Majeſty, wou'd be pleading Guilty to the Indictment; and when they are arraign'd before You, not to lodg their Anſwer in your Hands, wou'd betray an Unconcernedneſs about your Opinion of 'em, and convey a Notion equally diſreſpectful to your Majeſty and unjuſt to Themſelves.

They beg therefore that your Majeſty wou'd give 'em leave to ſay, that whatſoever has made it thought ſo ſeaſonable by a Party of late to impeach 'em of Diſloyalty, and to endeavour to incenſe your Majeſty againſt 'em; yet that they are perfectly ſatisfy'd, that your Majeſty, to whom the Common Intereſt of the Nation is better known, than the private Advantages of each particular Party are to it ſelf, is fully perſuaded, that it can't be for your Service to ſhew any Diſtruſt of Men, who have done nothing to forfeit your Majeſty's Confidence, and whoſe Behavior of late may juſtly encreaſe it.

For they dare appeal to your Majeſty, whether any were more zealous in promoting the Revolution than they? or more in earneſt for ſetling the Proteſtant Succeſſion, the Introduction to your Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the

Throne, and the Security of your quiet Poſſeſſion of it? Whether any give or pay Taxes more chearfully, and that at a time when they can have no manner of private Advantage to ſerve by it, nor ſo much as the innocent Principle of an honeſt Ambition, and the Proſpect of any part of the Honor of managing the War You are ſo gloriouſly engag'd in, to animate 'em to contribute freely to its Support? Nay, whether any depreeate publick Calamitys, or give Almighty God the Praiſe due for National Advantages more fervently than they? Tho they find that thro the narrow and factious Spirits of ſome among us, Publick Diſaſters become their private Security, and Common Mercys their greateſt Danger: The moſt infallible Teſt of the warmeſt Deſires of the Proſperity of your Majeſty's Arms, and the Peace and Quiet of your Government; and of an Obedience, not wholly unlike the fam'd Submiſſion of Iſaac; ſince they wiſh the Succeſs and Encreaſe of your Power, and rejoice at it, under the hazard of being ſacrific'd as a Thank-Offering for ſuch Divine Favors, did not your Majeſty, like the Angel, interpoſe between Them and Ruin.

The Diſſenters, who, by being entirely diſengag'd from all Foreign Intereſts, can have none but that of the Nation, and muſt always there-

therefore be ſuppos'd to be ſolicitous how that may be beſt ſerv'd, are too well appriz'd of the danger of a Diſunion from Scotland upon your Majeſty's Demiſe, and the Occaſion which that unhappy Hour wou'd give thoſe that are in the Intereſt of the Pretended Prince to execute their Evil Deſigns (tho your Majeſty has receiv'd convincing Proofs, that nothing but the want of a fit Occaſion can make them wait ſo long) ever to allow themſelves to be wanting in their moſt ardent Prayers and Wiſhes, for the long Continuance of your Majeſty's Life, whom Almighty God has entruſted with a greater Opportunity to free Europe from the Danger of an Univerſal Slavery, and Us from the Fears of a Popiſh Succeſſor, than any hereafter can be reaſonably expected to be poſſeſt of.

Some former Reigns indeed have been jealous of the Diſſenters, and thought 'em dangerous; becauſe the Prince, as a late Author has aſſur'd us in a Book dedicated to your Majeſty, was a ſecret Roman Catholic in the former of thoſe Reigns, and a profeſt one in the latter, and they had both of them Deſigns of introducing Popery and a Popiſh Succeſſion. In purſuance of which unhappy meaſures, they put the Diſſenters under very great Hardſhips, and commenc'd

Wars,

Wars, and entred into Alliances, contrary to the Genius and Intereſt of the People. But your Majeſty's Glorious Predeceſſor, who, having nothing ſo much at heart as Liberty and the Proteſtant Religion, chang'd the private Maxims of the Court for the general Good and Inclinations of his People, and the Intrigues of the Cabinet for the conſtant Advice of Free Parliaments, and who ſteadily purſu'd thoſe meaſures which were neceſſary to ſecure us from the Dangers of a Popiſh Pretender, and the Exorbitant Power of France, the only dangerous Support of his Pretenſions, found the Diſſenters ready to run thro all Hazards and Difficultys, to render his Government ſecure and eaſy.

And ſince 'tis the Adminiſtration of Princes, that muſt always be ſuppos'd to procure the Love or Ill-Will of the People, the Diſſenters muſt neceſſarily have the ſame Regards to Your Majeſty, which they had to the late King of Immortal Memory: Your Majeſty having not only given them your Royal Promiſe of the Continuance of a Toleration, which he firſt gave; but having unweariedly purſu'd his Meaſures with a Succeſs, that he could only wiſh and prepare things for; but which was reſerv'd by Providence to render your Reign Glorious, and your Memory precious to ſucceeding Ages.

So that nothing can poſſibly make a Government conducted by theſe Maxims uneaſy to the Diſſenters but a Perſecution, which ſometimes proves a Temptation to Weak and Private Spirits to diſturb the Public. And tho it has been formerly the Deſign to provoke the Diſſenters by Hardſhips to enter into meaſures, which could neither ſecure them, nor they juſtify; yet the Paſſive Obedience they paid to the Laws ſo far defeated the Deſigns of their Enemys, as to force them often to accuſe the Diſſenters of Sham-plots to ſupply the want of Real Ones. And the Diſſenters are equally ſecure againſt ſuch Trials of their ſuffering Vertues now, both by your Majeſty's Penetration into the falſe Policys of former Reigns, your Knowledg of their ill Succeſs, and your Royal Promiſe, that no ſuch Methods ſhall be made uſe of in Yours.

The Diſſenters are very well ſatisfy'd, that your Majeſty, who is at the Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, and not of a Party of it, has too great a Concern for its common Intereſt, to weaken it, by allowing a Perſecution of any of that Denomination. And that You have too juſt a Notion of the Methods of bringing the Diſſenters into the Church, to ſuffer any to multiply the unneceſſary terms of Communion, or to uſe Force and Violence to make 'em Members of it.

They

They are perſuaded, that your Majeſty has too much Tenderneſs to puniſh Men for that which You take to be *their Misfortune*, and not their Fault; and too much Regard to the Authority of Conſcience, and the unalienable Right every Man has to a Liberty of obeying its Dictates, to let any Penaltys be inflicted on Diſſenters, or any Civil Privileges accompany their Converſion; which can only tend to bribe or intimidate their Conſciences, whoſe Integrity is the beſt Security your Majeſty can poſſibly have for the dutiful Behavior of any of your Subjects.

And tho there are ſome who wou'd fain have your Majeſty look upon *the Church to be a good part of the Property* of your Subjects, and believe that 'tis generally taken to be ſo; yet they only thereby diſcover the great Regard they have to Property, and the little Opinion that they entertain of the Church, which is infinitely debas'd by ſo mean a Similitude. And it's a ſign they don't know much of its Spiritual Nature and Privileges, and of the ways by which they are loſt and gain'd, who think that fencing it about by the ſame Laws with which we defend our Poſſeſſions can give it any Security; and deſire that it may be equally penal to invade another man's Property, or to diſſent from the Church. From the high Value theſe Men ſet upon Pro-

perty, and the low and confus'd Notion they have of the Church, all wise Men will be apt to conclude that they rather design to make a Property of the Church, than the Church any part of their Property.

Your Majesty will therefore easily perceive, that any Applications which are made to represent the Disloyalty of the Dissenters, and to turn your Displeasure against 'em, if they are not owing to a furious and mistaken Zeal, must proceed either from a Design to create a Suspicion of the Weakness of your Government, to its unspeakable Prejudice, at a time, when its Enemys are boasting of their Strength and Numbers; or to furnish your Enemys with a better opportunity of concerting their Measures without Discovery or Interruption; and at the same time to create a Coolness, if it were possible, in the Affections of some of the truest Friends of your Majesty's Person and Government.

And these Designs some may possibly flatter themselves with the hopes of compassing, by the Tendencys such Applications have to beget a Diffidence in your Majesty of a faithful Part of your Subjects, and a secret Jealousy in the Dissenters of the Continuance of their Toleration; and to divert your Majesty's Apprehensions and Watchfulness from those who depend upon a Foreign Power, and won't give the

the Securitys the Government requires of 'em for their dutiful Behavior, against the Dissenters that are ready to abjure all Foreign Interests, and to swear to be faithful and true to Yours.

But whatever may be these mens Designs and Expectations, the Dissenters are well satisfy'd, that their unfeign'd Obedience and your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness will prevent their taking place. They know your Majesty is too exactly inform'd of the many ill Effects of the Severitys us'd against the Dissenters in some late Reigns, and of the Advantages that accru'd from the Mildness and Clemency of the last, to be ever convinc'd of the Necessity of keeping a stricter hand over them, in order to Your own Security.

Great Endeavors have indeed been us'd to alienate your Majesty's Affections from the Dissenters, by representing the unhappy Troubles of the last Age in false Colors; and making those men Actors in that bloody Tragedy, who ventur'd farther in endeavouring to prevent the Fall of that Royal Head, and early to restore Your Royal Family during the Usurpation, than any others dar'd to do. And to shew the great Good-will some men bear the Dissenters, this bloody Scene is represented afresh, contrary to the Acts of Grace and Oblivion, that shou'd have bury'd those Times in Silence, and to

the

the loyal Behavior of the Diſſenters, that ought to have procur'd 'em a more honourable mention, from all that pretend to think well of the Revolution, or to wiſh well to your Majeſty's Reign.

But not to take up your Majeſty's time in ſetting in a true Light, what part the Diſſenters acted in thoſe Troubles, of which your Majeſty can't be ſuppos'd to want a juſt Information; none are to be blam'd for the Extravagancys that were then committed, but they who were concern'd in 'em, or they who abet 'em. And to impute any Faults of the Diſſenters of thoſe days to the Diſſenters of ours, wou'd not have quite ſo much Juſtice in it, as to puniſh Children for the Iniquity of their Fore fathers.

And whoever were the Actors in thoſe Troubles, yet it is certain, as a noble Author, lately introduc'd into Your Preſence, has obſerv'd, that it was ſtraining things too far in Church and State, that rankled mens Minds, and carry'd 'em to thoſe Extremitys; and not any form'd Scheme or Set of Principles, or any previous ill Diſpoſitions that were obſervable in thoſe that engag'd in the Civil War. It was the *Unreaſonable, Unskilful, and Precipitate* Meaſures of the Court, in his Lordſhip's Opinion, that were the

Source

Source from whence thoſe Waters of Bitterneſs did moſt probably flow. So that 'tis equally improper for any to lament that they have not the power to ſcrew up things to the ſame pitch again; or to pretend, till they get that Power and exert it, that there is the leaſt Shadow of Danger to a mild and prudent Adminiſtration, becauſe the Men of thoſe Times oppos'd the unuſual Reſolutions of the Court, by Proceedings as much without a Precedent.

It was not the Conſtitution of the Church of England that Men were at firſt angry with, but the Fears of Popery that they were under, from the Deſigns that it was generally thought a great Prelate had to return to the Church of Rome: Nor did they intend the Subverſion of the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, but to oppoſe the Oppreſſion and Perſecution that was either felt or apprehended: Nor was it the Ceremonys of the Church, but the introducing ſome things which look'd too like Superſtition and Prophaneneſs, that rais'd the Fury in thoſe who had till then conform'd to the Church, which at laſt ended in the Ruin of its outward Order and ſome of its Superſtructures; tho its Being and Foundation, the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the Rock on which the Church of England is built, and its chief Corner-ſtone, remain'd neverthe-

leſs

leſs unmov'd, thro all the Diſorders of thoſe Times.

These are Remarks which the Adverſarys of the Diſſenters know to be juſt, and which they are ſenſible invalidate the Charges brought againſt 'em from that Hiſtory. That they may therefore lay a better Foundation of Diſtruſt in your Majeſty of their Allegiance and Fidelity, they charge diſloyal Principles upon the preſent Body of the Diſſenters; hoping thereby to help out a Fact, which they muſt needs be conſcious is not at all parallel to the preſent State of Things, and whoſe Guilt can't belong to the Diſſenters now, if it did belong to ſome Diſſenters then.

They wou'd, in order to this, poſſeſs your Majeſty, that *the Monarchy of England is not now capable of being ſupported but upon the Principles of the Church of England*, in oppoſition to thoſe of the Diſſenters: *and that the Principles of the Diſſenters are directly contrary to Monarchical and Epiſcopal Government.*

But theſe Aſſertions will make no Impreſſion upon your Majeſty, who knows that there are no Diſſenters from the Principles of the Church of England about Government and Monarchy, except the Non-Jurors. The Monarchy of England at preſent ſtands upon the Principles of the late happy

happy Revolution, in which all true Churchmen and Diſſenters agree. And the only Principles that are dangerous to the Monarchy, as 'tis happily veſted in your Majeſty, and founded upon the Revolution, are thoſe of Paſſive Obedience, and the Divine Right of an unalterable Succeſſion in the Right Line. And 'tis the Denial of *a mutual Compact between the Prince and his Subjects* ; and the aſſerting, that *the early Death of the late Queen Mary of ever Glorious Memory, made* [immediate] *Room for your Majeſty's more Unreſtrain'd and Sovereign Authority*, that are the Tenents which threaten the Monarchy of England, as it is at preſent by Law Eſtabliſh'd. Becauſe 'tis theſe that prevent the Non-Jurors in both Kingdoms from taking the Oaths to the Government, and ſtrike at the very Root of the Abdication, and the preſent Settlement of the Crown.

'Tis true, the Diſſenters have Principles that are contrary to an Abſolute Monarchy, but thoſe only render them better Friends to a Limited One: and 'tis Monarchy after the French, and not after the Engliſh Model, that they have conſtantly declar'd againſt. They have always indeed too remonſtrated againſt the pretended Obligations to ſuch an Abſolute Non-Reſiſtance, and an unlimited Paſſive Obedience to the Crown, as was utterly inconſiſtent with the Revolution

Principles, of which 'tis hard to ſay, whether they are more dangerous by being too weak to bear a Government, or ſpecious enough to tempt Princes to truſt to their Support. But in this they have help'd to diſcover their pernicious Fallacy and Cheat, and have had the Honeſty to profeſs what all others never fail to practiſe. By doing ſo, and maintaining Self-preſervation to be one of the firſt and moſt fundamental Laws of Nature, they have had the Honor to pave the way to your Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Crown. So that your Majeſty has at once an Inſtance of the Innocence and Uſefulneſs of this Principle, in ſome of the moſt Loyal of your Subjects at Home, and of the moſt hearty of your Allys Abroad, the People of the Cevennois, whom you are graciouſly pleaſed to aſſiſt in acting agreeably to its full Purport.

But the Diſſenters would crave the Liberty to aſſure your Majeſty, that theſe free Principles, which ſerve to maintain the juſt Rights of Humanity, only render them the fitter to be free Subjects; but are ſo far from carrying 'em to endeavor to introduce a Commonwealth, to the Subverſion of the known Conſtitution of this Kingdom, that they think no Man a greater Enemy to England, a Jacobite only excepted, than a Republican.

What

What is meant by Epiſcopal Government, the Diſſenters don't ſo well underſtand; nor how their Principles can be ſaid to be directly contrary to it. They would hope, that 'tis not made any matter of Accuſation againſt 'em, that they do not believe the Powers of the Biſhops to be Independent from the State, or that any Injuſtice has been done to the Ejected Ones; which are indeed held to be as neceſſary Tenents by ſome now-a-days, as any contain'd in our Catechiſms. Nor can the Diſſenters tell what other meaning this Charge can have, in which they can be concern'd. They believe your Majeſty to be Supreme in all Cauſes Civil and Eccleſiaſtical. They hold the Order of Biſhops to be lawful, tho they do not take it to be Divine. And it may be thoſe, who would gladly irritate your Majeſty againſt the Diſſenters, would not be better pleas'd with them, if they ſhould hear them profeſs a great deal of Veneration for their Lordſhips Perſons, and aſſure your Majeſty, as they might do with the greateſt Sincerity, that they think it one of the moſt valuable Bleſſings of your Reign, that you have ſuch a Bench of Biſhops to ſummon to Parliament, to adviſe your Majeſty about the great and arduous Affairs of the Kingdom. And ſince your Majeſty has given your Royal Aſſurances, that You will maintain a To-

leration granted to their Scruples about taking Orders from a Biſhop, according to the preſent manner of conferring 'em, or about committing themſelves to his ſpiritual Care; it's to be hop'd none will think it a Crime in the Diſſenters, that they uſe a Liberty, which while their Scruples remain, the Law of God indiſpenſably enjoins, and your Majeſty's Government graciouſly allows.

But if the Principles of the Diſſenters were as inconſiſtent with the Order of Biſhops as their Enemys wou'd repreſent 'em to be; yet the Diſſenters are ſatisfy'd, that this wou'd not infer the Concluſion 'tis deſign'd to ſuggeſt, and convince your Majeſty of the Diſloyalty of the Diſſenters; who find Your Self, by the dutiful Behavior of the Presbyterians of Scotland, ſo happily convinc'd on the one hand of the Falſity of that fam'd Maxim, No Biſhop, No King: And by the ill Conduct of the Epiſcopal Party there, on the other, that ſome may be unalterably ſet upon Biſhops, and againſt their rightful Sovereign at the ſame time.

Your Majeſty will eaſily acquit the Diſſenters from Charges of this nature, which as they are capable of the moſt ſatisfactory Anſwers, ſo are they ſupported by no Proof but that of a Fact, which it ſelf has no Evidence of its Truth; and which if it had, affects none but thoſe ſingle Per-

ſons

ſons who ſhall be prov'd to be concern'd in it: I mean the *ſolemnizing of that diſmal Thirtieth of January, in Scandalous and Opprobrious Feaſting and Jeſting.* A Rite ſo barbarous and inhuman, as is the inſulting the Memory of a Vertuous and Unfortunate Prince, that I wou'd hope none that breath the ſame Air with your Majeſty can be guilty of it: But which the Diſſenters know nothing more of than their Accuſers, and are more ſorry, that there is the leaſt Suſpicion of ſuch a Crime's being perpetrated by any of their Countrymen, than their Accuſers can be glad, that it ſerves as a Reproaeh to any of their Number. If any ſuch Solemnity ſhould be practis'd in ſecret, the Diſſenters hope the Promoters of it will be diſcover'd: and if it ſhould appear that any of 'em were Diſſenters, which is a Suſpicion altogether as groundleſs as they believe 'tis falſe, yet this cou'd no more argue the Body of the Diſſenters guilty of *Retaining the Rebellious Principles of the laſt Age*, than it cou'd be concluded that all Churchmen were Jacobites, if it ſhou'd be prov'd, that ſome of that Body have with the like Barbarity drunk Healths and paid Honors to a couple of Animals, for occaſioning the Death of one of the beſt of Princes.

In the mean while your Majeſty will eaſily obſerve how juſtly the Diſſenters dread the falling into

into the hands of those men, who wou'd punish 'em for the Crimes of their Predecessors, and wou'd impute the Iniquity of a Fact without Evidence, and whose Guilt is not so much as suspected to affect any considerable Number, to a whole Body.

Since upon the whole then it appears, that the Dissenters have so many Principles and Interests concurring to secure your Majesty of their Fidelity; and since they have done no Fact, nor hold any Principles that can raise a Distrust of them in your Majesty, They promise themselves, that You will by no means be engag'd either to hinder the Continuance of the Dissenting Assemblys to the next Generation, or to deprive 'em of any Powers and Capacitys of serving your Majesty and their Country, which they now enjoy.

The utmost of their Wishes is a farther Advance towards the first design'd Reformation of the Church, which no body pretends is already perfect. And in case they can't obtain this by peaceable and legal Methods, the utmost they desire is a Continuance of the Toleration of their own Religious Societys, in which they think that Reformation is in a good measure obtain'd. If in this they conceive amiss, they hope your Majesty will imitate the great Head of the

Church,

Church, and bear with their involuntary Miſtake.

This they humbly ask with the greater Confidence, becauſe they are conſcious of their unbiaſs'd Deſigns to uſe every Power that ſhall be continued to 'em, and to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in every Capacity for the Service of your Majeſty and their Country. And therefore they hope they may preſume, that You will not hearken to a later Author, who wou'd perſuade your Majeſty to deprive 'em of Opportunitys of Service, which they hope will be ever as uſeful to your Majeſty, as they will be always honorable and agreeable to Them. They have the leſs reaſon to be apprehenſive of His ſucceeding with your Majeſty, ſince to the Infinite Satisfaction of your People, You have expreſs'd too great a Concern for a general Union among 'em, and know the beſt Methods to obtain it too accurately, to encourage any Meaſures, the remote Jealouſys and Apprehenſions whereof have more than once caus'd a Ferment and Convulſion, that has reach'd to the moſt diſtant Parts of the Kingdom.

The Diſſenters beg your Majeſty to believe, that 'tis only theſe Men, who thus miſrepreſent 'em, and wou'd adviſe your Majeſty to take ſevere Meaſures with 'em, that they wou'd oppoſe

in their ſeveral Stations; and that more for endeavouring to bring Difficultys and Uneaſineſs upon your Majeſty and the Public, than upon Themſelves. And your Majeſty, who quickly ſees thro the Pretences of thoſe that approach You, will eaſily diſcern, that 'tis not any Principles of Diſloyalty to your Majeſty, but a ſteddy Adherence to the true Intereſt of your Majeſty and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and to Meaſures that won't ſo eaſily fall in with ſome mens private Deſigns, that has rais'd this Cry againſt 'em. Had it not been for this, your Majeſty might poſſibly have found their preſent Accuſers their greateſt Patrons and Protectors.

May the Almighty, by whom Kings reign and Princes decree Juſtice, bleſs your Majeſty with the Diſcernment of an Angel of God: and in order to render your Majeſty's Government eaſy to Your ſelf and a continued Bleſſing to Your People, vouchſafe to your Majeſty the Knowledg of the true Friends and Enemys of your Perſon and Government; and grant that You may never truſt any one of Theſe, nor diſtruſt any of the Other.

THE

The PREFACE.

THE Cause that the World is now desir'd to give Judgment in, has been more than once publickly and successfully argu'd; and since I pray a Rehearing, 'tis but just that I should have so much deference to Mankind, the Judges to whom I appeal, as not to lodge it before I have suggested those Reasons which induc'd me to draw it up, and to hope that it would not be thought a piece of Impertinence and Presumption to desire a Review.

The Toleration of Dissenters has got so much Credit of late, by the Evidence that has been brought of the Title every one has to it, and the great Advantages it brings along with it to all Governments, that it is become a sort of fundamental Maxim of ours, and an essential Part of the Constitution. Insomuch that an Attempt, which all unbiass'd Men took to be made to weaken and impair the Toleration, was prefac'd with a solemn Assurance, that it ought to be inviolably observ'd.

Right and Public Advantage indeed are always Arguments to honest Minds, and engage 'em to pursue every thing that comes under that Representation. But to Party-men, who always act from private views, they only serve as Cautions against a publick Opposition, of that which makes so advantageous an Appearance, and a Hint to pretend to promote it or to oppose it secretly, whenever 'tis necessary, in order to compass their little Ends, to oppose it at all.

And this has been the Reason why some, who find the Dissenters to be a Party that thwart their private Interests, either profess to maintain the Toleration, or don't own any Design to repeal it, at the same time that they discover themselves to discerning Men, to be resolutely bent upon those measures, which will gradually weaken and destroy it.

This Attempt upon the Toleration under a pretence of Friendship, or at least without declaring open War against it,

endangers the Toleration much more than any public Acts of Hostility possibly could; since by these means the Dissenters are lull'd asleep, or are not any ways alarm'd to ward off the Blow.

But since 'tis plain that the Occasional Conformists are only attaqu'd like a thinner Squadron, that the whole Body of the Dissenters may be the more successfully routed; and that 'tis endeavour'd to deprive them of all Offices, for no other purpose, than that by taking this Outwork of the Toleration, the Fort may be the more easily storm'd; 'tis high time that the Redoubts should be strengthened, and the Avenues well guarded and secur'd.

This is a time when no Man that wishes well to the Toleration of Dissenters, can think it improper to Review the whole of their Case, to be appriz'd of what they hold to be their Obligations, what they claim as their Due, and what they take to be the Interest of their Country in reference to Themselves; and to find proper Arguments and Answers drawn from the general Principles of an absolute and impartial Toleration of all Dissenters, accommodated to the Case of the Occasional Conformists, and to the Exceptions that are made to the Pleas for their Toleration.

And since Sir H. M. has endeavour'd to defeat the Occasional Conformists of the Right they have to a Toleration, in common with other Dissenters, and pretends that they ought not to be suffer'd to enjoy it; it's but a piece of common Justice to allow the Occasional Conformists to put in their Answer. And there's the more reason for it, since Sir H's Performance has been cry'd up by some interested Men, as a Masterpiece, and uncapable of receiving a satisfactory Answer.

*What engag'd me too the more to make a Reply to it, was the greater Success this Treatise has met with than Sir H's Bookseller complains his * former one did; which argu'd a great Disposition in some People to receive any Arguments, that were brought on that side the Question, and the want of some Remedy to cure that ill Disposition.* *The*

* Treatise *concerning the Doctrine of the* Ever-blessed Trinity: *by way of Dialogue.*

The Reader will I hope forgive me, for exceeding the just Bounds of a Pamphlet. But whoever makes fair Quotations from Sir H. M. will quickly swell a Book; and Sir H. not any where determining his Notions, and leaving it to his Reader to fix his meaning from the Design of his Treatise, the Connexion of the Place, or some parallel Passages scatter'd up and down his Book (all of which being consulted, sometimes leave the Difficulty unresolv'd) renders it often necessary to make several Quotations and Deductions to settle the Sense of a single Proposition, which the Answerer is to debate. So that I must needs say, it has been generally more difficult to determine the exact Signification of Sir H's Assertions, than to refute 'em.

However I have endeavour'd to make the Reader amends as well as I cou'd; and therefore, where I was not so certain of Sir H's meaning, I have fix'd that upon his Words, which according to my Apprehensions wou'd best serve his purpose. And I have endeavour'd not only to answer what Sir H. has said, but what might have been said, as a further Proof of what he advances.

That all this was not sooner done and publish'd (besides its being some considerable time after Sir H's Book appear'd, before that Acceptance which its several Editions in various Forms argue it has met with, cou'd be known, the great reason of my answering it) is owing to some little Accidents of Indisposition and other Interruptions, which 'tis neither worth my while particularly to relate, nor my Reader's to be inform'd of.

ERRATA.

PAG. 17. lin. *6.* for *Lys*, r. *Ly*. P. 37. l.21.f. *to the contrary*, r. *of the Inefficacy of every thing but Love and Kindness, and the Efficacy of gentle Methods to convince Mens Minds*. P. 47. l.31. f. *'em*, r. *it*. P.69. l.20. f. *can be only informing*, r. *can only inform*.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE

CASE

OF THE

DISSENTERS

REVIEW'D.

THERE's no man that makes the leaſt Reflection on the Perſons and Things of his own time, but muſt neceſſarily obſerve with how great eagerneſs and frequency the Diſſenters have been attaqu'd of late, and with how much reluctancy they are brought to reply. I know the Reaſons of this Conduct are differently repreſented, as the Reaſons of moſt Facts are, according to the Intereſts or Prepoſſeſſions of the ſeveral Partys. But no body can be juſtly ſurpriz'd at this Procedure, who obſerves, that they who engage in Diſputes muſt be Men of great Leiſure and Receſs from other Buſineſs; and that Diſputes themſelves prove generally ineffectual to ſerve the common Intereſts of Society and Religion, or prejudicial to them both. Controverſy generally gives an Edge to Mens Minds and Expreſſions, and provokes 'em to break the Tys of Love

 and

and Charity, the Band of Civil and Religious Perfection. It raises too much Passion against our Adversary, and a greater concern for our selves than for the Truth; and robs us of that Sedateness of Mind, in which alone Truth can maintain its own Empire, or foil the Powers of the Prince of Darkness. So that whilst Controversy is like to do so little good, and, without a great deal of caution in managing it, so much harm, he must be a very idle Fellow indeed, and be capable of little service otherways, that can be forward to engage in it.

But possibly the Dissenters think, that they had the less Obligation to appear in their own Defence, because they thought their Conduct spoke for it self. And they were more willing the World should see their Innocence express'd in their Actions than their Apologys and Vindications; and that their Enemys shou'd find their own Mouths stop'd by the Dissenters blameless Behavior, rather than by Recriminations and Answers. And they had flatter'd themselves, that their Conduct must necessarily have acquitted 'em from the Charges that us'd to be made against 'em. For they imagin'd after they had been more faulty in some Peoples Opinions for supporting a Prince than for dethroning one, their Loyalty wou'd scarce have been call'd again in question: Nor their Charity, after they had so frequently conform'd upon Occasion to the Church of England, at her Invitation to do it, and her Complaint against the Neglect of it *. Nor their

* *Dr. Stillingfleet in a Sermon preach'd before the Lord Mayor, entitul'd,* The
Pag. 21. Mischief of Separation, *complains, after he had said, that the Dissenters hold Communion with the Church of England in the Liturgy and Sacraments lawful,*
P.22. §.4. *and in some Cases a Duty; 'that they shou'd not join with the Church, in what 'they themselves thought lawful, and in some Cases a Duty.' And complains,*
Pag. 37. *'that the Preachers keep this Doctrine of the lawfulness of a Dissenter's joining in 'the publick Assemblys, a secret in their own Breasts.' And adds, 'that if those 'Preachers*

their Sincerity in this Practice, when 'tis known that they took it up before any shew of Interest cou'd tempt them to it: and that they continue it, when they are told by their Enemys that it must disserve their Party; and by their Friends, that it can serve none but that of the truly Christian one. *Mr. Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, p. 566.*

They thought therefore if these Facts wou'd not justify 'em, it was only because they were not observ'd, or the Reason of 'em not attended to; and that it wou'd be sufficient, if they shou'd just set 'em in a fair Light, to give the World satisfaction. Or that at least if Reason wou'd not be heard in the mouths of Partys, it wou'd have its just regard when it came from those impartial Judges, to whom injur'd Justice has its last Resort; who, as all just Judges do, turn'd Advocates in this honest Cause, and pleaded the Rights of the Oppress'd. They saw their Lordships Defence of 'em wou'd increase the Credit and Authority their Lordships justly stand possess'd of, and needed not the just Opinion the People of England have of 'em, to give their Lordships Reasons their full weight; and that nothing cou'd add to that, unless it were, that others were so light and trivial. 'It was said indeed, that if 'things went on as they did, the Church wou'd be in 'danger for the future. For that the Dissenters had been 'Seditious, and that they continu'd to be Schismaticks; 'and had of late Hypocritically found out a Practice, that 'was equally inconsistent with the Laws and their own *The account of the Lords Proceedings, p. 31.*

' Preachers wou'd acquit themselves like honest and conscientious men, they must ' tell the People plainly, that they look on our Churches as lawful Churches.' This last is a very particular Invitation to Occasional Conformity, and a heavy Complaint upon the Preachers for their silence about it, as the Cause of their Peoples neglect of it: Which by the way is a strange Charge for the Doctor to make against the Preachers, when he had but just quoted a Book of theirs, that positively declar'd it to the World as their Opinion, that Occasional Conformity was not only Lawful but a Duty. P. 30, 56. Pag. 22.

'Principles. Whence it was infer'd, that the Dissenters 'ought to be incapacitated of all Offices, for the security 'of the Church: Especially since they might be incapaci-'tated, without giving the Church one Advantage it had 'not, or without depriving the Dissenters of one they had. 'For that as restraining Dissenters from Offices was mani-'festly design'd by the Corporation and Test Acts, so that 'Restraint was not remov'd by the Act of Toleration, 'nor desir'd by the best of the Dissenters themselves.

But how specious soever these Objections might appear at first, the Dissenters thought they cou'd not remain so, after it had been advanc'd in answer: 'That the Church 'was in no present danger, and but in an imaginary one 'for the future. Which might be the more justly asserted, 'since the Church had been secure and flourishing for ma-'ny Years, in the condition in which it is at present, with-'out any new Security. That since the Dissenters were 'tolerated, they cou'd not be thought Schismaticks: And 'that if they had been Seditious, 'twas when Persecution 'had made them open Enemys. But that as their Inde-'pendence from foreign Power, and the Smallness of their 'Numbers compar'd with that of the Church, secur'd 'em 'from being dangerous; so gentler Methods had made ''em true Friends to the Government both in Church and 'State. That Occasional Conformity was a Practice an-'tienter than the Test Act, tho it was but of late that any 'Objections had been made against it: And that it was 'not inconsistent for a man that cou'd conform in some In-'stances, to have a weak and a scrupulous Conscience, that 'wou'd not let him conform in others. Hence they in-'fer'd, that it wou'd be unreasonable to disturb the Pub-'lick Peace in so critical a Juncture; and that since a 'Toleration had done Service to Church and State, it ought 'to be preserv'd and strengthen'd rather than endanger'd 'and impair'd. That if the Bill made no Alteration to

See the Lords Proceedings upon the Occasional Conformity Bill.

'the prejudice of the Dissenters, it wou'd be ineffectual: 'and if it did, it wou'd be hard to punish Men for going 'to a Meeting, which as the Law stands is no Crime. 'That the Corporation Act cou'd not be pleaded as a 'Precedent for this, because the Circumstances of the 'Times made it widely different. And that this Bill 'cou'd not be said to oblige the best, and disoblige only the 'worst among the Dissenters, unless they were the worst 'among the Dissenters who were nearest to the Church, 'and they the best who were at the greatest distance.

Thus Imaginary Dangers of the Church and Old Crimes of the Dissenters have been set forth at large, in order to justify the Conduct of those who wou'd have incapacitated them of all Employments. Whilst the noble Patrons rais'd up by Providence for their Defence, whom the World has so much reason to rely upon, and so little to suspect, have given us the real Advantages of Church and State, and the late Behavior of the Dissenters, as the reasons of taking 'em under their Protection. A greater Advantage in arguing can hardly be suppos'd, whether we consider the Abilitys of the Disputants, or the Issue of the Dispute. And since such an entire Defeat of the best Forces and Artillery that cou'd be brought out by the other side, has only gain'd the Dissenters and Moderate Churchmen a Truce, till the Forces cou'd rally again, what lasting Advantage can be expected from an Encounter between two single Combatants, tho Truth and Success shou'd be on our side? However since we are not only challeng'd by a Champion of the other Party, but urg'd by the Friends of our own; and since, tho 'tis scarce to be hop'd that Victory cou'd procure Peace, yet that Silence might be thought to betray Cowardice; we think our selves oblig'd to enter the Lists, that if we can serve no better a purpose, we may at least prevent our Adversarys from telling the World, that we have given up the Cause

Cause of Toleration, or others from taking the occasion to suspect we have betray'd it.

In order to this, it may possibly be worth the while to take a summary view of what the Dissenters have advanc'd in their own Defence, and what Exceptions have been made to it, before we consider what has been alledg'd against 'em. And under the first head we'l take a short view of the *Reasons of their Dissent* from the Establish'd Church, *of their Occasional Conformity*, of the *Right they* have, and the *Interest* the *Government* has in their *Toleration.*

The Reasons of their *stated Dissent* amount to this, that the Worship due to God, being the Payment of that Honor, which is due from a reasonable Creature to his Maker, must be such, as the reasonable Creature thinks sutable to that relation, and which he thinks will be acceptable when 'tis paid. To give God either what we think wou'd be unacceptable, or less acceptable than something else that is in our Power to perform, wou'd be to offer him an Affront instead of Homage, and must procure his Resentment instead of his Acceptance. And as not to worship God at all is to turn Atheist; so not to worship him in that manner which we think will please him best, is to become as much worse than an Atheist, as to outrage and insult the Deity is worse than to neglect it. Whence it follows, that whilst the Dissenters think their way of Worship more acceptable to God, than that establish'd by Law; 'tis impossible for them not to remain Dissenters, unless they'l turn *Atheists*, and not worship God at all; or *Hypocrites*, and not worship him in that which they take to be the most acceptable manner.

It makes nothing to our present purpose, whether the Dissenters are mistaken, in thinking their manner of worshipping God more acceptable to him than that establish'd

by

by Law, or not. For ſuppoſing them to be miſtaken, whilſt they act as honeſt Men, they muſt act according to their own Apprehenſions. He's indeed a wiſe Man, whoſe Apprehenſions are free from Miſtakes: But no man can act as an honeſt Man, and a good Chriſtian, who acts contrary to his Apprehenſions, be they juſt or miſtaken *. But the Diſſenters think they are not without Reaſon to ſupport their Opinion neither: Their Diſſent includes two things, a Separation from the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and a joining themſelves to other Chriſtian Societys. And they think 'tis a part of the Duty they owe to their Maker to do both. For they take it to be an Inſtance of the Honor due to Jeſus Chriſt their Lord and Lawgiver, to ſeparate from a Church, which abridges 'em of any Liberty he has allow'd, or allows 'em any which he has forbid; or in which they are not likely to meet with the earlieſt Convictions of any Fault that Church may be guilty of, in either of theſe reſpects, or to be in the greateſt readineſs to comply with all Attempts towards a further Reformation. And as they think it their indiſpenſable Duty to ſeparate from ſuch a Church, ſo they think they have an

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* *Leſt the Cauſe in which this is aſſerted, ſhould make it ſuſpected to be Heterodox, I wou'd beg leave to quote the words of a very judicious and moſt reverend Prelate, in a Diſcourſe concerning Conſcience in Quarto:* 'Where a Man, *ſays he,* is miſtaken in his Judgment, even in that Caſe it is always a Sin to act againſt it. Tho we ſhould take that for a Duty which is really a Sin, yet ſo long as we are thus perſuaded, it will be highly criminal in us to act in contradiction to this Perſuaſion. And the reaſon of this is evident, becauſe by ſo doing, we wilfully act againſt the beſt Light, which at preſent we have for the direction of our Actions. So that when all is done, the immediate Guide of our Actions can be nothing but our Conſcience, our Judgment and Perſuaſion.' *And he adds a little after:* 'If a Papiſt ſhou'd renounce the Communion of the Roman Church, and join with ours, whilſt yet he is perſuaded the Roman Church is the only Catholick Church, and that our Reform'd Churches are Heretical or Schiſmatical; tho now there is none of us that will deny that the Man in this Caſe has made a good Change, as having chang'd a falſe Religion for a true one; yet for all that, I dare ſay, we ſhould all agree he was a great Villain for making that change, becauſe he made it not upon honeſt Principles, and in purſuance of his Judgment, but in direct contradiction to both. Pag. 18.

equal Obligation to join with thoſe Churches, which are not liable to theſe Complaints; and where they are likely beſides to meet with what they take to be the moſt proper means to increaſe their Chriſtian Knowledg and Vertue, and to labor under the feweſt Defects.

I. The Diſſenters think it neceſſary to ſeparate from a Church, which has ſo many unneceſſary Rites and Ceremonys, to aſſert their *Freedom* from all *human Impoſitions*, which they take to be an Encroachment on the Divine Right our Lord and Saviour has to give Laws to his Church, and an Intrenchment upon the Libertys of his Subjects, an Alteration of Religion, and a Conſtituting ſomething elſe neceſſary to pleaſe God, beſides that which he has made ſo. And they take themſelves to be more ſtrongly oblig'd to aſſert their Liberty againſt ſome Impoſitions than againſt others; inaſmuch as ſome, in their Opinion, are not only novel and fanciful, but *Corrupt* too. To inſtance in both theſe Caſes: To enact, that no Man ſhall receive the Sacrament, unleſs he kneels, is an Uſurpation upon Mens Conſciences, and an Authority no Commiſſion can be produc'd to ſupport *. But to wreſt any Powers by Eccleſiaſtical By-Laws out of Hands where God has lodg'd 'em, either in Familys, or in Churches, and particular Church-Officers, is in their Opinion too like actual Rebellion, and ſetting up a Juriſdiction directly Oppoſite to his.

II. The Diſſenters think the Reformation of Faith and Worſhip from all the Innovations and Corruptions, which the Fancys and Intereſts of Men have introduc'd, the moſt glorious Work of theſe latter Ages. They envy their

* *Note, That complying now and then with an Eccleſiaſtical Uſurpation in things indifferent, is not complying with the Principle upon which that Uſurpation is founded. See this more particularly explain'd, p.13. where the Conſiſtency of Occaſional Conformity, with this reaſon of Separation, is ſhewn more at large.*

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Forefathers the Honor of having ſet it on foot, and are not ſo ambitious of any thing, as of carrying on what they began to a greater perfection, and of imitating their happy Spirit, in removing thoſe things, in order to win upon Proteſtant Diſſenters, which their Anceſtors ſuffer'd to remain, only to bring over the Roman Catholics. And ſince the Diſſenters can't think the *Reformation Perfect*, they think themſelves oblig'd to ſeparate from a Church, in which they were to be prevented by an Oath from endeavoring after any Alterations. Neither wou'd they ſo much as ſuffer their Eyes to be blinded, and a Veil to be drawn over the Blemiſhes of the Church by its Emoluments and Honors: Nor to be directed to the Laws of Men as its Rule and Standard, rather than to the Laws of God; nor their Hands to be cramp'd, and ty'd up by the Reſtrictions of human Orders, from acting agreeably to the Light they ſhou'd receive: That will ſhine the cleareſt, if we follow the Advice of the Arabian Proverb, and if in order to ſee, we ſhut the Windows. Truth will then be the pureſt and the freeſt from mixtures of Paſſion and Intereſt, if we reſolve to exclude the views of Worldly Honors and Privileges, and conſult the Reaſonings of our own Conſciences, upon the Principles that Nature or Revelation affords us.

III. The Diſſenters think theſe Reaſons oblige them by a direct and an immediate conſequence to ſeparate from the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and *Imply* their Obligation to join with other Churches, ſince they cannot without a manifeſt Diſobedience to their Lord, and a loſs of ſeveral Privileges that are not to be had out of Religious Societys, live without entring into ſome Religious Society or other.

IV. But the immediate Obligation that lies upon 'em to do ſo, in their opinion ariſes from hence, that their Churches have ſome ſpiritual Advantages, which the Church of England wants. For ſince nothing can do

God more honor than a serious Endeavor to become knowing and vertuous; and since 'tis a much more likely way to become so, to choose their own Teachers, than to have them impos'd upon 'em by another, they think 'tis most highly reasonable, that they shou'd join with Churches, whose Constitution allows of such a *Choice*. For no Man can be so capable to judg who informs another the best of the Truth, and of his Obligations, and animates him the most to a correspondent Life and Conversation, as he is himself; and when a Man chooses his Teacher, he may be sure that he is disinterested in his Choice; whereas he can't be sure, when another chooses for him, that the other has no separate Interest to serve from his: And he can't but be sure, that the other does not know the Methods that are so proper to serve his spiritual Interests, so well as he does himself. Because that does not depend intirely upon the Abilitys of the Preacher, of which another might judg as well as he; but upon the Proportion they bear to his Capacity, which none can judg of but himself, who knows his own Capacity, as well as the Ability of the Preacher, and the Sutableness of the one to the other.

V. But God has appointed Reproof and Correction, as a proper means to a Holy Life, as well as Exhortation and Instruction. But this Advantage they think is in a manner wholly wanting in the Establish'd Church; tho Discipline is as necessary to a well order'd Church, as Administration of Justice is to a good Government. Whether the Defect of this due Discipline in the Church, be owing to the want of good Orders, or of a good Constitution to execute them, or to both, is not material. The *Defect of a godly Discipline* is acknowledg'd and lamented by the Church; and the Dissenters hope, restor'd by them. If it be not, the fault they are sure is in themselves, and not in their Churches, by whose Rules and Con-

Common-Prayer-Book at the beginning of the Commination, being the Office for Ash-Wednesday.

Constitutions it may be attain'd. And this being a compliance with the Church infinitely more conducive to the Ends of a Religious Society, which is the holy Lives of its Members, than any compliance with Ceremonys, or subjection to the Order of Bishops can be, which are not necessarily conducive to that end; the Dissenters hope erecting Churches of their own, is both more necessary, and a greater compliance with the Church, than their Conformity cou'd be. So that upon the whole, 'tis to maintain the Liberty of a Christian, and the Purity of Christian Worship, that the Dissenters separate from the Establish'd Church; and both by consequence from these, and more immediately for greater Improvements, and a godly Discipline, that they unite in religious Confederacys among themselves.

Upon these Principles some of the Dissenters think they ought not only to enter into Religious Confederacys among themselves, but to *separate* from the Church *Intirely* and *at All Times*. It wou'd be foreign to our present Design to enquire whether that be the just Consequence of these Principles: but every Man must judge of Principles and Consequences for himself; and he that thinks the Conclusion from these Premises to be an obligation to a total and constant Separation from the Church, can't join with her in any part of Worship, at any time, without acting a dishonest part, and refusing to follow his Judgment, the immediate Guide that God has appointed to all his Actions. Whether the Dissenter that constantly and totally separates from the Church, acts according to his Judgment, and whether he did all he could to inform his Judgment, is no Man's business to judg and determine: And he only that has a Right to judg him, or that can do it, is the Lord.

I. But there are others among the Diſſenters, who think, that tho they are oblig'd by virtue of theſe Principles to join with ſeparate Chriſtian Societys, yet that they ought to join with the Church of England in ſome parts of her Worſhip, upon ſome Occaſions too: Becauſe they think the Church of England a Good and a Lawful Church, tho ſhe is Defective and Redundant; and tho they think their own Churches Preferable, and the Beſt. They think the Churchmen too guilty of introducing ſome Impoſitions and Superfluitys, and of allowing ſeveral Defects in the Church, which if they ſhould be guilty of, would be Sins againſt their Conſciences in them. Yet they believe great numbers of the Churchmen to be among the viſible Saints on Earth, and that they will make a good part of the Church of the Firſt-born in Heaven. For they have the ſame Charity for the Churchmen, which they deſire the Churchmen to exerciſe in their regard; and believe that to be but Inconſiderateneſs and Miſtake in their Brethren, which wou'd in their Opinion be a formal Uſurpation of God's Authority, an Oppreſſion of his Subjects, and a deſign'd Neglect of Religion in themſelves. The Parts of Worſhip therefore, in which the Diſſenters can join with the Church and the Churchmen, are thoſe which they do not condemn, either as Faults in the Church, or Miſtakes in the Churchmen, or as what wou'd be Sins againſt Conſcience in themſelves; and from which by conſequence they don't ſeparate: And the Occaſions of conforming are thoſe, in which they can do the Church, or their Country, or Religion any Service. And ſince 'tis a neceſſary Character of an honeſt Man to act according to his Principles, and that ſome Diſſenters have theſe, they cou'd not poſſibly act like honeſt Men, if they did not *Statedly Diſſent*, and *Partially and Occaſionally conform.*

II. And as theſe Principles neceſſarily oblige 'em to do ſo, ſo they don't ſee that any of *their* other *Principles forbid*

bid 'em to do it. They think indeed the two last of the Reasons of their Separation, oblige 'em to enter into Religious Societys of their own; but that the two former don't oblige 'em never to join with the Church, but only in those things, which they condemn, and in which they separate. They can therefore never join in any Impositions, Corruptions, or Defects of the Church; but this does not hinder 'em from joining in other Parts of the Establish'd Worship, which are not faulty in these Respects. As for instance, the Reasons that are given for a Separation from the Church, don't make it unlawful for a Dissenter to receive the Lord's Supper kneeling; kneeling being a Posture at that Solemnity perfectly indifferent, and which they may therefore use if they think fit. Nor does the Imposition alter its nature, and of an indifferent one make it unlawful. But all that the Imposition, operates, is, that it self being in the opinion of the Dissenters an unlawful Action, must debar them from joining in it, concurring to it, abetting it, and giving it any countenance; which constant receiving of the Sacrament kneeling in their Opinion wou'd do, and an occasional receiving of it in the same Posture does not. It being therefore the Imposition of a thing indifferent that an Occasional Conformist separates from, and not the indifferent thing impos'd, 'tis only from the former he must constantly separate, but not at all times from the latter. And as this general Rule may be easily drawn from this Instance, so 'twill not be difficult to the Reader to form Parallel Rules to this, in the other cases.

From hence 'tis easy, with great Submission, to observe the *Mistake* of those who assert, that 'the Occasional Conformists conform to that which they dissent, 'and condemn themselves in that which they allow, and 'are guilty of a wilful Sin. Since 'tis Impositions, Corruptions and Defects, they separate from and condemn, and

Sir H. M's Peace at Home, B. p.6. §.5,6.

and only join upon occaſion with an indifferent thing impos'd. And with Sir H. M's leave, 'Conforming and
Ibid. 'Non-conforming are not Contradictions,' unleſs it be Conforming and Non-conforming to the very ſame things, and at all times. But to Conform to ſome things, and at ſome times, and to Diſſent from other things, and at other times, is a Practice that contradicts it ſelf no more than to eat Fleſh, and not to eat Fleſh. And I ſuppoſe a Man who liv'd in a Popiſh Country might eat Fleſh on a Wedneſday and Friday conſtantly at his own Houſe, and Fiſh ſometimes upon thoſe days at his Neighbour's, without a Self-contradiction: And that a believing Corinthian might eat Meats offer'd to Idols at an Idolater's private Table, if it was not notify'd to him that they were Meats offer'd to Idols, and might not eat 'em if it was, without being a living Abſurdity.

III. And as the Diſſenters think Occaſional Conformity upon theſe accounts to be a Practice built upon the Belief of the Communion of Saints, and enjoin'd by the Rule of Charity, and to be highly conſiſtent with their own Principles, ſo they think it warranted by *Apoſtolical Example.* For St. Paul held Communion Statedly with Societys of converted Gentiles, who had no terms of Communion but the terms of Salvation; and Occaſionally with the Eſtabliſh'd Church of the Jews, whoſe Conſtitution and Worſhip was widely different from thoſe Societys. For tho the converted Jews reform'd from the Doctrines, yet they retain'd the unneceſſary Ceremonys and Conſtitution of the Jewiſh Church. Which being enjoin'd by God but for a term of time, which was then expir'd, became indifferent things in their own nature; but were impos'd by the Governors of the Jewiſh Church; and made ſo neceſſary by their Impoſition, that the Churches with whom St. Paul did ſtatedly communicate, were held Schiſmatical Aſſemblys for the neglect of 'em. And yet notwithſtanding this

this Stated Dissent of St. Paul from the Establish'd Church, he did Partially Conform himself, and advis'd others to do the like upon all occasions, where the Jewish Church or the Gospel could be serv'd by it. Till therefore it can be prov'd that the Establish'd Church of the Reform'd Jews, and the Dissenting Assemblys of the Reform'd Gentiles don't bear a proportion to the Establish'd and Dissenting Churches in England; or that the Reasons of St. Paul's stated Dissent and Occasional Conformity don't bear an exact proportion to the stated Separation and Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters, They desire to be excus'd, if they take this to be an Apostolical Example, which they are oblig'd to imitate, tho there be a thousand other disproportions and differences betwixt 'em.

The Dissenters can't forbear thinking too, that the *Occasional Non-conformity* of a Church-man is founded 'mutatis mutandis' on the same Principles with the Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters; and will, according to the Rule of Contrarys, serve to illustrate and prove each other. They can't but believe that a Church-man who thinks the Churches of Dissenters good and lawful, and the Church of England the best, ought whilst he thinks so to communicate Occasionally with the Dissenters, and Statedly with the Church: And that this Practice is an inevitable consequence from these Principles, and supported by Apostolical Example too. St. Peter, a stated Communicant with the Jewish Church establish'd by Law, reform'd from Jewish Doctrines, but not at all from the Jewish Ceremonys and Constitution; did Communicate upon Occasion with separate Assemblys of Reform'd Gentiles, who were for some time held Schismatical, because they would not suffer the Ceremonys nor Constitution of the Jewish Church to be impos'd upon 'em, tho mightily urg'd to receive 'em by the Governors of the Reform'd

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Jewish Church. And the Dissimulation and Hypocrisy that St. Paul charg'd upon St. Peter, was not that he was an Occasional Nonconformist, but that he was afraid to continue one. He did not blame him for that before cer-
Gal. 2. 12. tain Jews came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but that when they came, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing those of the Circumcision.

And there are yet others which lie between these two, and are something like Diogenes, who would not be made a Citizen of Athens by certain peculiar Rites, because he was a Citizen of the World. These Men think neither the Church nor Meetings Unlawful, or Preferable one to the other. They think Orders equally valid that are given by Bishops, Presbyters, or a Congregation: and 'tis indifferent to them, whether they pray by a Form or without. When they have Communion with any Church, 'tis with that Church as 'tis a part of the Catholick one; and it's of no importance to them by what little Peculiaritys each of these parts has differenc'd it self from the rest. They take none of the Differences to be either Sinful or Divine; and think Religion and true Piety may be alike promoted by 'em all. And according to these Principles, they frequent the Communion of Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, *Indifferently*, as Circumstances and Occasions happen to determine and invite. In which they act too as correspondent to their Principles as either of the former.

IV. And after all the Clamors that have been made against Occasional Conformity and Occasional Non-conformity, the Dissenters believe, when Bigotry and private Interest abate, which have rais'd and given strength to the Cry, and a serious Concern for Truth shall take place, it will appear to be *as Lawful* and *as Consistent* for a Churchman sometimes to go to a Meeting, and for a Dissenter sometimes to go to Church, as for a Churchman to go some-

ſometimes to a Cathedral, and ſometimes to a Pariſh Church; ſometimes to a Church ſubject to its Ordinary, and ſometimes to one that is exempt from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction. For if the Unlawfulneſs and Inconſiſtency of Occaſional Conformity and Occaſional Non-conformity lies in this, that the different ways of Worſhip in Pariſh Churches and Meetings not being uniform, 'tis a Contradiction ſometimes to worſhip God in one, and ſometimes in the other; then 'tis equally unlawful to go ſometimes to a Cathedral and ſometimes to a Pariſh Church, becauſe the manner of Worſhip in Pariſh Churches and Cathedrals is not uniform neither. Or if it ly in this, that Meetings and Churches not being ſubject to the ſame Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, 'tis denying one Sunday what a man aſſerts another; then 'tis equally unlawful to go ſometimes to a Church ſubject to Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and ſometimes to one that's exempt from it, ſince they are no more ſubject to the ſame Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, than a Church and a Meeting. Or if it ly in this, that the Miniſters that officiate in Churches and Meetings, have not both of them Orders from Biſhops: neither is that Fact true, for ſome of the Diſſenting Miniſters have had Orders from Biſhops; nor is the Reaſon juſt, becauſe that it is not held lawful to communicate occaſionally with thoſe Diſſenting Churches, whoſe Paſtors have been Epiſcopally ordain'd. If it be ſaid that there's a difference between worſhipping God ſometimes in a Church, and ſometimes in a Meeting, and between worſhipping him occaſionally in a Cathedral and in a Pariſh Church, in a Church ſubject to Epiſcopal Juriſdiction and in a Peculiar; becauſe Cathedrals and Pariſh-Churches, whether ſubject to Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, or exempt from it, are all of 'em eſtabliſh'd by Law, that is, have certain Privileges granted 'em by the Act of Uniformity: The Diſſenters reply, that if that be all the difference, 'twill be ſtill equally lawful to go ſome-

times to a Church and sometimes to a Meeting, since the Dissenting Meetings have certain Immunitys and Privileges granted 'em by the Act of Toleration.

V. In fine, the Dissenters don't only think Occasional Conformity, and Occasional Nonconformity lawful and consistent, both consider'd in themselves, and compar'd with the practice of those, who raise the great Objections against it; but think it the *likeliest Expedient*, as the Case is at present stated, to root out Party in the State and Bigotry in the Church. Since it opens a door into Employments to several honest Dissenters, and leaves it open to several moderate Churchmen; 'tis to be hop'd, the Government having a Liberty to employ 'em, will not prefer merely a Churchman, but an honest Man that is fit for the Post, be he Churchman or Dissenter. And 'tis to be hop'd too, that the common sort, who are often more led by Example than Principle, will conclude, when they see the best Men go both to Church and Meetings, that Religion does not consist in going to either (as 'tis to be fear'd too many at present think) but in Faith in Jesus Christ, and the essential Dutys of Love to God and our Neighbour.

VI. And whatever has made Men inveigh so much of late against Occasional Conformity, as a Practice more prejudicial to the Church than going constantly to a Meeting, or never worshiping God publickly at all; yet it was formerly thought an Expedient that would ruin the Dissenting Interest, and be *highly serviceable to the Church.* Dr. Stillingfleet in the Places quoted before, after he had complain'd of the Dissenters for neglecting Occasional Conformity, and of their Preachers for not pressing it as a Duty, as the Cause of that neglect, and charg'd them to exhort their Hearers to it for the future, as they wou'd act like
Pag. 38. honest Men; adds, that he does not question, but in time, if they find Conformity lawful, they will judge it to be their Duty. A very learned Prelate has observ'd, that this has

has happen'd so in fact; and that after St. Bartholomew in 62. Occasional Conformity was a step that carry'd many much further; and from Occasional Conformity grew to constant Conformity, if not in the Persons themselves, yet in their Children. And this is a Fact that Sir H. the great Advocate for a Bill to prevent this Practice, does not pretend to deny: tho 'tis too great an Objection against the Bill to so great a Churchman as Sir H. for a mere turn to answer, if he cou'd have deny'd the Fact it self. And no wonder Occasional Conformity shou'd have this effect; since, to wave all other Reasons, the generality of Men are for taking things in gross, and accounting them altogether and at all times good, or altogether and at all times bad; And are impatient, if not uncapable, of attending to those Circumstances, that make one Action different from another that's of a like kind, or the same Action in appearance one while and in this respect lawful, and another while and in another respect sinful.

Proceedings of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, p. 37.

B. p. 9. §. 3.

Whether the Dissenters have taken due care to inform themselves of the Points in dispute, and whether they are sincere in their Dissent, must be left to the Judgment of the great Day, when the secrets of all Hearts shall be reveal'd; and whether they are mistaken must be left to every man after serious Consideration to determine. But if the Dissenters are mistaken, these are the Grounds of their Mistakes. And if we believe 'em to be honest men, we must believe, that their Dissent is not mere Humor nor Stubbornness, as it can't be Interest. And I'm sorry that Sir H. M's Charity is at so much a lower an ebb than Dr. Stillingfleet's was some years since, as to imagine that it is; and that he has so mean an Opinion of their Sense as well as of their Grace, as to think 'em thro Stubbornness to be wanting to their Interest, as well as to their Obligations. I wou'd

B. p. 6. §. 3.

Dr. Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 16.

hope few are of Sir H's mind, and that the Generality think their Dissent rather owing to the Weakness of their Judgment, than the Refractoriness of their Wills: as Sir H. himself does in another place, when he had either more tenderness for the Dissenters, or more caution, and regard to his own Reputation. And if this be the Case of the Dissenters, the Duty of all Men towards 'em, is to use their charitable Endeavours to convince 'em, and to remove these the Grounds of their Mistakes: and which is yet more charitable, to bear with these Mistakes, if such Endeavors shou'd not succeed. For supposing that the Dissenters are in the wrong, and shou'd remain so, yet they think they have an unquestionable Right to be *Tolerated* in common with all other peaceable Men, and so far in particular, as their Mistakes can't be either very great or fatal to others, or themselves.

Pref. p. 2. §. 2.

A Toleration is the Exemption of a peaceable Man, who is thought to be mistaken in matters of Religion, from all sorts of Penaltys and Force: And all Mistakes both real and suppos'd are peaceable ones, that are not injurious to our Civil Interests. And by Civil Interests we mean, the enjoyments of Life, Health, Liberty, Riches, Reputation, Relations, *&c.* and their Security from the Injurys of our Fellow-Citizens, and from a Foreign Power. The Penaltys and Force which a Toleration exempts peaceable mistaken Men from, signify the depriving a Man of any Privilege, or the inflicting of any corporal or pecuniary Punishment, or note of Disgrace. So that the Toleration a Protestant Dissenter lays claim to, is *an Exemption of him from any harm the Law protects every innocent Englishman from, and a securing him in those Rights, which innocent Men enjoy.* A Toleration is no Toleration that is not absolute and impartial: And they who restrain a Toleration to some sort of peaceable Dissenters, and exempt them only from some sorts and degrees of Penaltys,

naltys, instead of tolerating, persecute all other peaceable Dissenters, and so far even those, whom they pretend to tolerate too. But the Toleration we speak of, signifys the Exemption of all peaceable Dissenters; and an Exemption of them from the Loss of any Privilege, and the inflicting any Hardship, the least as well as the greatest.

And in this I think I have the good Fortune to find Sir H. *agreeing with me* in some places of his Book and Preface; particularly where he describes a Toleration of Dissenters to be 'A Liberty given 'em to follow their respective Trades, and to enjoy their Libertys and Propertys, 'without being disturb'd by Prosecutions for Conscience-'sake only. And a little before, where he seems to describe the State of Persecution of Dissenters by 'their liableness to Penaltys; and their Toleration by 'an Exemption from all Temporal Punishment. And we may learn what Sir H. means by the temporal Punishments and Penaltys, which a Toleration exempts Dissenters from, and what Libertys and Propertys it secures the enjoyment of, by seeing what he grounds a Toleration upon, and for what end 'tis design'd. 'Tis grounded upon 'the Freedom of Man's Mind, and the Inefficacy of every thing 'to prevail upon it, but what is introduc'd by Love and 'Kindness, and upon the sutableness of gentle Methods 'to attain this End. And what are these gentle Methods? why according to Sir H. they are three: 1. Reasons, 2. Arguments (which Sir H. is pleas'd to make two) and, 3. a good Example. Therefore Sir H. undoubtedly by Penaltys and Temporal Punishments, means all Penaltys and Temporal Punishments; and by Security of Liberty and Property, means a Security of all Libertys and Propertys. For there's no Penalty nor Temporal Punishment of any kind whatsoever, nor the loss of any Liberty or Property whatsoever, that can be thought to be 'Love and Kindness, 'or gentle Methods, or Reasons, or Arguments, or a

'good

P. 3. §. 3.

§. 2.

Pref. p. 1. §. 9.

'good Example. So that Sir H. in these Places, where he talks more professedly about a Toleration than in any other, by a Toleration means the security of all the Libertys and Propertys of a Dissenter, and the exemption of him from all sorts and degrees of Punishments whatsoever.

Nay to shew how large Sir H's general Notions of a Toleration are, and the particular Application of these Notions to his own case, he supposes this general Principle, that all Degrees of Reproach, even those that deserve no severer a Name than indecent Reflections upon a Man for his sincere and humble Opinion, are Persecutions for Conscience-sake. For having said, 'That if any 'Person, instead of bringing Reasons and Arguments, 'shall run out into indecent Reflections on the Writer, he 'shall desire him to apply on this Occasion a short Saying,

Pref. p. 2. §. ult.

'Didicit ille maledicere, ego contemnere.

He adds, 'That he may be confident (I suppose 'tis upon the just Awe he presumes every one will have of falling under the insupportable Burden of his Contempt) 'that 'no Persons will deny him the same Indulgence, which 'they are so ready to grant to every one else, and that 'therefore he shall never be persecuted for Conscience-'sake only.

I know there is scarce any Part of the rest of Sir H's Book but may be brought to shew, that Sir H's Notions of a Toleration are not so large as these. But tho I can't answer them, possibly Sir H. at his leisure may; and shew us how these Passages agree with a thousand others, and with the whole design of his sincere Treatise. But since we have so full a proof, that this is Sir H's notion of a Toleration in those places, where he lays down the general notion of a Toleration, and the particular notion of that, according to which he desires to be dealt with himself; I hope till Sir H. shall recant these Passages, which are so full and positive to our purpose, he will forgive my Vanity

Vanity (who am ſo proud to be of his mind) in aſſerting that the Notion of a Toleration, which he lays down in ſeveral Places of his Book, agrees with mine: and I hope he'l forgive my Freedom, in deſiring him to take the trouble at his leiſure to ſhew how he agrees with himſelf.

I. Having thus explain'd the meaning of a Toleration by the help of ſome Paſſages in Sir H's Treatiſe, we'l conſider what the Diſſenters advance to prove it a Right which belongs to all Mankind, and particularly to themſelves. To prove that a Toleration is the indefeaſible Right of all peaceable Diſſenters they alledg, that no Man can help believing what he thinks is true, and every Man is bound to worſhip God in that way, which he thinks the beſt; and that no Man ſhou'd be puniſh'd for *that which he can't, or which he ought not to help.* And I ſuppoſe this is what Sir H. means, when he tells us, that ' nothing can be more free than the Mind of Man, and Pref. p. 1. ' that nothing can prevail upon it, but what is in- §. 9. ' troduc'd by Love and Kindneſs; upon which account, ' he ſays, he has been always for a Toleration.

II. But if it were in a Man's power to believe what he wou'd, which is as great an abſurdity as can be ſuppos'd, yet wou'd he have a Right to be tolerated. Becauſe no Man has *any Authority*, either to oblige another by a Law to believe any ſpeculative Article, or to approve of any particular Mode of Worſhip, or elſe to undergo a Penalty. The Magiſtrate has no ſuch Authority, becauſe his Province extends no farther than the Lives, Libertys and Propertys of Mankind in general, and of his Subjects in particular, but can't reach to any points of Faith and Worſhip: which as they are not the Ends of Civil Society, can't be the matter of the enacting part of any Law. Nor has the Church any ſuch Authority, ſince her Power don't extend to Mens Lives, Libertys, and Propertys, which muſt be affected by the Penaltys of a Law. Nor

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have they both together ſuch a Power: For the Church has no Power to make any ſuch Article, ſince ſhe has no Legiſlative Authority, and is reſtrain'd barely to the Execution of thoſe Laws our Lord has left us; and to the Execution of them only over her own Members. Or if the Church had ſuch a Power, the Magiſtrate cou'd have none to give them a Sanction, by affixing a Penalty to them; which muſt affect Mens Lives, Libertys or Propertys, for the ſake of Points of Faith and Worſhip.

III. But that no ſuch Authority is lodg'd any where, is further evident. Becauſe Penaltys, which are the Sanctions of all Laws, are wholly *ineffectual to convince* the Mind, that that Article of Faith is true, or that that manner of Worſhip is the beſt, which they are deſign'd to enforce. Penaltys can only reſtrain and deter Men; but they are wholly improper and ineffectual to perſuade or convince. 'Tis only a Connexion between Ideas, and the Evidence of that Connexion, that can convince. But where's the Connexion between the Truth of a Propoſition, and the Penalty a Man muſt undergo, who don't believe it? Or is it a conſequence that ſuch a Propoſition is true, becauſe, for example, I muſt loſe my Eſtate, if I believe it to be falſe? And the Evidence of a Penalty are two Ideas, which can no more be join'd together, than the Light of a Cat-of-nine-tails, or the Colour of a Smell, or the Sound of Scarlet.

IV. And if it could be thought, that an Authority to enforce Articles of Faith and Worſhip were lodg'd any where, and that Force was a proper means to convince the Mind, yet would not ſuch an Authority be *uſeful to Mankind.* For it could not ſerve to propagate the Truth, becauſe tho the Men in whom ſuch an Authority was lodg'd, might by the virtue of ſuch an Authority propagate their own Opinion; yet unleſs they were infallible, they cou'd not be ſecure of propagating the Truth. Nay,

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ſuch a Power veſted in the Magiſtrate or in the Church, muſt neceſſarily hinder the Propagation of Truth inſtead of promoting it, ſince there are infinitely more Churches and Magiſtrates in the Wrong than in the Right. The glorious French Example of Henry the Third, that Sir H. (to his Honor be it remember'd,with the other French Precedents he follow'd in his Addreſs to K. James) propoſes as a Pattern of promoting Truth for her Majeſty to follow, cou'd only have promoted the worſt of Errors, the Infallibility of Popiſh Tenets, and a Right to perſecute all that don't hold 'em. Sure the way to propagate Truth and Error can't be the ſame; nor can Truth ever be maintain'd by means, that will equally ſerve to eſtabliſh Falſhood. The way by which Chriſtianity at firſt ſpread it ſelf, and upon which the Reformation is founded, is, that every Man ſhou'd judg freely of Truth for himſelf, and that no Man ſhou'd judg of it for another. And one wou'd think this had been a Precedent more worthy of her Majeſty and Sir H. than a Practice, that's the greateſt Support of Slavery and a falſe Religion. And till this Principle ſhall obtain more univerſally, we muſt not wonder that ſo few Nations in the World, and ſo very few in thoſe Nations are either Votarys to Truth themſelves, or deſerve the glorious Character of being its Witneſſes to others.

Ded. p. 3. §. 4.

V. For theſe Reaſons the Proteſtant Diſſenters think all peaceable Diſſenters ſhould be exempted from all Penaltys, notwithſtanding their Diſſent from any Articles, tho they were eſſential to Chriſtian Faith or Worſhip. But they think they have a peculiar Right to be tolerated in their peaceable Diſſent from things, that are allow'd by the Compellers themſelves to be either *faulty or unneceſſary.* If any Man had a Right to enforce Points of Faith and Worſhip, and Force were proper to convince, and to propagate the true Faith and Worſhip, yet wou'd there be

no reason to use it to enforce things own'd to be perfectly indifferent. The advantage of the Society being the end and measure of Lawgiving, indifferent things ought not to be the matter of Laws. And Laws being the directing of a Man for his good, to direct him to use things indifferent, is, as if a Physician instead of prescribing good Drugs, shou'd order his Patient a chip in Porridge. Laws are to restrain Men from hurtful Actions: But to restrain 'em from innocent ones, which will do 'em no harm, is like a sour Physician, to confine his Patient unnecessarily to his Bed, or to ty him up to one certain sort of Meat and Drink, whereby he renders himself intolerable to the Patient, and the rest of his wholesom Rules less regarded, and more uneasy than otherwise they would be.

The Maxim, that Magistrates have an undoubted Right to command 'Omnia licita & honesta,' which has been so industriously instil'd into the Minds of Magistrates and People of late, has done more mischief than one cou'd easily imagine. And if this was to be the measure of the Magistrates Authority, his Laws might soon come to be no wiser than the Decrees, that were made by the Senate of Women in the Reign of Heliogabalus: Enjoining a thousand Impertinencys relating to Dress, Place, Carriage, Visits, Ceremonys, Salutations, and a multitude of other inconvenient Formalitys. Or as those which were made by that prudent Emperor himself (the Uneasiness of whose Reign to his Subjects proceeded as much from Humor as Vice) who at one time order'd all the Spider-webs of Rome to be collected, that he might judg of its Magnitude; and at another a thousand Mice, Rats, Wheasels and Polecats, in order to exhibit them in a publick Shew to the People, for some deep Policy like the former. And yet those who propagate this Doctrin must own that these Laws enjoin'd nothing but 'licita & honesta.' The Jewish Laws did not only enjoin 'licita & honesta,' but things

things necessary to that Dispensation. And yet that Oeconomy is call'd an intolerable Yoke by St. Peter, because there were such a number of Injunctions, which were only necessary upon some certain Suppositions. If Magistrates shou'd exert this Authority in the Church, which the Priests are so desirous to give 'em, a Complaint of a celebrated Father against the Church in his time, for the multiplicity of its Ceremonys, would be very applicable to ours, 'that the condition of the Jews was more 'tolerable than of the Christians. And if the Advocates for this Principle did but once feel the full weight of it, they wou'd quickly change it for a better, and substitute this in the room of it, that Magistrates have an undoubted Right to command 'Omnia justa & utilia. St. Aug. in 2 Ep. ad Januar.

I. Thus far we have the Honor to agree with Sir H. M. in his stating the bounds of a Toleration, and in some of his Reasons for giving it so large a Compass. It may serve to clear this matter better, if we consider how far Sir H. is consistent with himself, and us in his other Notions and *in his Practice.* And to begin with the last, I wou'd humbly desire Sir H. to consider with himself, how far he has been from tolerating the Dissenters in the same manner he desires to be tolerated. For notwithstanding all his pretensions to Temper and Tenderness, he tells 'em, 'That they have set up an arbitrary Dispensing 'Power in their own Consciences, whereby they are enabled to go to Church for their Profit, and to a Conventicle for their Principles.' That is in short, that they are a pack of Hypocritical Knaves, who pretend to Conscience, and pursue nothing but their Advantage. And agreeable to this gentle Method of treating 'em, he tells 'em, 'That they are unfit to be trusted as Executors or 'Guardians.' If Sir H. had laid this down as his private Opinion, however indecent it might be for him to express, I dare say the Dissenters wou'd not have plac'd it in the B. p. 2. §. 2. Pref. p. 2. §. 3.

History of their Persecutions. Sir H. possibly might be aware of this, and therefore that they might not escape so easily, by laying it down as a Fact, that they are not trusted with such Charges by the generality of Dissenters, he gives an accent to the Reflection (which the Dissenters possibly might else have slighted, as much as Sir H. says, he shall the Reflections of his Antagonists) and gives it as the Opinion of a Body of Men, who know 'em the best, and it seems according to him, trust 'em the less for it. What else cou'd provoke Sir H. to say a thing so void of all Truth and Probability? 'That the Dissenters 'have generally more Wisdom than to entrust those sort 'of Occasional Conformists to be Guardians of their 'Children, or Executors of their Wills: Unless it be for the sake of the Quaintness and Chime of what follows: 'Who yet, says he, desire to be entrusted by the Government with the Guardianship and Execution of the Laws 'of their Country. And possibly this is not the only Instance, where a fancy'd elegancy of Expression, may have led Sir H. into a mistake, both when he acts the Historian and the Disputant.

Pref. p. 2. §. 2.

But I find how large soever Sir H's Notions of a Toleration in general are, and of his own in particular, yet the Dissenters are not the only Men, 'that have set up an 'arbitrary dispensing Power in their Consciences': For he can break thro those Bounds at any time to get at an Occasional Conformist, or to make a beautiful Period. An indecent Expression against Sir H. is Persecution: But Sir H. it seems has a liberty to rob Men of their good Name, and expose 'em for acting from a Principle of Conscience, as Men not fit to be trusted in the common concerns of Life and Friendship. And all this is yet to consist with tenderness too. But this is not only to take away the Guardianship and Execution of the Laws from honest Men, but as far as it lys in Sir. H. the liberty of following their respec-

tive

tive Trades too, which Sir H. himſelf makes one Inſtance B.p.3.§.4.
of a Toleration; ſince he that's not fit to be truſted as an Executor, is as unfit to be dealt with as a Merchant. Theſe are ſome of Sir H's 'Tenderneſſes for the Diſſen-'ters, ſome of his gentle Methods, of his Reaſons, Ar-'guments, and good Examples deſign'd for the Conviction of the Occaſional Conformiſts.

II. Now ſince it appears how little Sir H's Practice agrees with his own Rules, we muſt not wonder if we find his Concluſions ſometimes contradict his Principles. The Inconſiſtency of ſome of Sir H's Aſſertions with his Notions of a Toleration, which ſeem to be the ſame with ours, may be conſider'd as Exceptions to the Principles we have laid down concerning it; and may for order ſake be digeſted under the following Heads. 1. That tho a Toleration ought to be given to a conſtant Diſſenter, it ought not to be given to an Occaſional Conformiſt. 2. That to incapacitate an Occaſional Conformiſt for all Places and Employments, is not inconſiſtent with a Toleration. 3. That Penaltys are not an improper Method to Convince. 4. Or at leaſt to diſpoſe Mens Minds for Conviction. 5. That the Diſſenters are not capable of Employments by the Act of Toleration. Or 6. That if they are capable by that Law or any other, they ſhou'd not be ſuffer'd to remain ſo.

1. Sir H. thinks in the firſt place, that tho a Toleration ought to be continu'd to a conſtant, whom he's pleas'd to call a conſcientious *Diſſenter*, *yet no Toleration* B.p.6.§.6.
ought to be given to the Occaſional Conformiſt; whom he oppoſes to a Conſcientious Diſſenter. But why ſhould not the Diſſenter that occaſionally conforms, have the benefit of a Toleration as well as he who never does? Is not an Occaſional Conformiſt a Diſſenter? And is not his Mind as free as any others? Is not every thing that is not introduc'd with Love and Kindneſs as unlikely, and

are

are not gentle Methods, Reaſons, Arguments and a good Example as likely to convince the former as the latter? Can any Penalty be conſiſtent with the Toleration of this Man, which is inconſiſtent with the Toleration of that? Or to examin this Poſition by our Arguments for a Toleration, as well as by Sir H's Notions of one, muſt every Diſſenter be exempt from Puniſhment, becauſe he can't help believing as he does, and ſhould not act otherwiſe than he thinks he ought; and muſt an Occaſional Conformiſt be puniſh'd, becauſe he believes both the Church of *England* and the Diſſenting Churches to be good and lawful ones, and becauſe he thinks he ought in conſcience to communicate ſometimes with the one, and ſometimes with the other? If no Man has a Right to puniſh any Diſſenter, can any one have an Authority to puniſh an Occaſional Conformiſt? Or if Puniſhment can't alter any man's Opinion, why ſhould it be apply'd to bring over him? Or why is the true ſide of the Queſtion about Occaſional Conformity, likelier to be ſerv'd by Penaltys than the Truth of other Propoſitions? Nay, ſince there's leſs difference between an Occaſional Conformiſt and a Churchman, than between other Diſſenters and a Churchman; tho other Diſſenters were to be puniſh'd, why ſhould he? Let any man ſhew me any difference, why theſe Arguments, by which Sir H. and we have prov'd the Right which Diſſenters have to a Toleration, don't hold equally juſt in both theſe Caſes.

Sir H. it ſeems thinks that the Reaſon why theſe Arguments don't hold good in the caſe of the Occaſional Conformiſts, tho they do in that of the conſtant Diſſenter, is, that the Occaſional Conformiſt does not diſſent out of Conſcience of the Unlawfulneſs to conform. For according to Sir H's way of reaſoning, he that conforms ſometimes, ſhews that he thinks the Terms of Church-Communion are not ſinful, and therefore his Separa-

Separation he says is wilful. Now a Toleration being B. p.2.§.7. only due to tender Consciences, and not to our stubborn and corrupt Wills, Sir H. thinks the Occasional Conformist is not entitul'd to a Toleration, tho the Dissenter is. I take this to be Sir H's meaning, when he answers this B.p.6.§.6. Objection, How any one 'that thinks going to a Meet-'ing to be a Crime in an Occasional Conformist, can 'think that a Toleration ought to be continued long? thus: 'That there are no Premises to warrant such a se-'vere Conclusion upon the Commons. For he asks, 'What prodigious steps must be made to come at it? How 'many plain and obvious distinctions must be laid aside to 'compass this *Argument*? Is there no difference, conti-'nues he, to be made between a Wilful and Unwilling Se-'paration from the National Church? Between Occasio-'nal Conformity for an Office, and for private Informa-'tion? Between doing that which is, and that which is 'not consistent with the publick Safety?——For does it 'follow that in case the Commons should think it a 'DETESTABLE CRIME in those, that can and 'will not conform, that therefore they must of necessity 'entertain the same thoughts of those, that would con-'form and cannot? Is there no difference to be made be-'tween an Occasional Conformist for an Office, and a 'Conscientious Dissenter? And this Distinction be-tween a Conscientious Dissenter and an Occasional Con-formist, is to be met with in many other places: No Ded. p. 2. doubt charitably to insinuate, and instil into mens Minds, §. 2. p.4. that he who conforms upon Occasion is not a Conscien- B. p.7.§.1. tious Dissenter. So that upon the whole Sir H's Reasons why the Occasional Conformist is not to be tolerated, a-mount to these: Because, 1. None but a conscientious Dissenter should be tolerated. 2. Because an Occasional Conformist is no Conscientious Dissenter.

But in the first place, to assign a *Conscientious Dissenter* as the

the only Object of a Toleration, is subverting all Toleration; and instead of proving it every Dissenter's Right, renders it defeasible and precarious. A Conscientious Dissenter is the Dissenter that acts according to his Conscience. Now if the Magistrate tolerates none but them, whom he thinks to act according to their Conscience, it may happen, that he may tolerate none at all: For some men have thought all Dissenters ill men, and to act against their Conscience; and a great many have thought both Dissenting from the Church, and the neglect of Occasional Conformity as great an Absurdity in it self, and as great a Contradiction to the Dissenting Principles, as any one pretends Occasional Conformity to be now. And Sir H. gives us reason to suspect, that he does not think more favourably of any of the Dissenters than of the Occasional Conformists. For he seems to suppose, that 'tis 'their
E. p.6.§.2. 'stubborn and corrupt Wills that make 'em dissent, and 'put 'em under an Incapacity to serve their Prince and 'Country. Supposing then Sir H. to be sole Magistrate, neither Occasional Conformists nor constant Dissenters must be tolerated. But it is not only cramping a Toleration, but rendering it impracticable, to make it extend only to conscientious Dissenters; since no Magistrate can tell who is Conscientious, and who is not. Instead therefore of saying, that none but a Conscientious Dissenter (Sir H. had talk'd more like a man, that was in earnest for a Toleration) if he had said, that none but peaceable Dissenters should be tolerated.

But how does it appear in the second place, that *an Occasional Conformist is no Conscientious Dissenter?* Both the Friends and the Enemys of the Dissenters tell us, that Occasional Conformity is against the Interest of Dissenters; and the Occasional Conformists declare to the World they act by no other Principle, than the Dictates of their Conscience, when they both statedly Dissent, and when they occasio-

occasionally conform. If Sir H. won't believe them, who must be Judg? Sir H.? How comes he by an Authority to judg his Brother? Is he not setting up an Inquisition B.p.9. §.1. then to try and punish Hypocrites, which he pretends so much to abhor, and which he thinks the Dissenters have so little reason to suspect? But Sir H. says 'tis plain he does not B. p.6.§.7. act conscientiously: 'For Conforming and Non-conforming are Contradictions, and nothing but a firm Persuasion that the Terms of Communion (he should have said constant Communion) in the Church of England can justify the one; and that condemns the other. We have examin'd before what the Occasional Conformist alledges, to prove that his Practice is not a Contradiction. But supposing it was a Contradiction, whom does it prove to be no Conscientious Man? Why him that continues in this Practice, and thinks it a Contradiction: but not him that continues in it, and don't think it a Contradiction. If therefore Sir H. who thinks Occasional Conformity a Contradiction, should conform Occasionally, he wou'd be no Conscientious Man. But nothing hinders, tho the Practice should be a Contradiction, why a Dissenter who should continue it and does not see that Contradiction, should be a truly conscientious one. For that which is an hypocritical Practice in the man who is convinc'd of the Contradiction, is but a mistaken one in him that is not.

And 'tis happy for Sir H. in my mind, that Consciousness of the Contradiction must go to make a Practice or a Principle Hypocritical; or else I don't know how Sir H. could be excus'd from the same Hypocrisy he charges upon the Occasional Conformists. For we shall find an Instance presently, where one of his Conclusions contradicts its own Premises. But I have the same Charity for Sir H. that I hope he'l have for the Dissenters for the time to come; and wou'd believe he no more saw that Contradiction, tho it lies exceeding obvious, than I would have Sir H. think the Occasional Con-

formists see the Contradiction of their Practice, if there be any Contradiction in it: especially since if there be any, it does not so immediately occur to the Mind. So that I hope Sir H. for his own sake will conclude, that tho every man may judg of the Consistency and Contradiction of the Principles of Occasional Conformists; yet no Man can determine whether he be a Conscientious Man or a Hypocrite who holds 'em.

2. But if Sir H. should be beaten out of this Redoubt, he has another to retreat to. If it should appear, that an Occasional Conformist has as good a Title to a Toleration as a constant Dissenter, then Sir H. says, what he would have done to this Occasional Conformist, is *not inconsistent with a Toleration*; because 'twould be *no Penalty* upon him at all. What is it Sir H. would have done with him? Why he would have him incapacitated to hold any Place
B. p. 4. §. 2. or Imployment: and seems to express it by allowing him 'a Toleration in his private,' but not in his publick Capacity. So that by Sir H's own Confession, it is but half a Toleration he would allow an Occasional Conformist. But
P. 3. §. 5. notwithstanding this, he calls it 'Moderation,' and says 'tis a Method purely defensive of the Church, without 'the least Encroachment on any one's Rights or Privileges
§. 2. 'whatsoever. And in another place he appeals to the World, 'what there is in this Incapacity inconsistent with 'the Act of Toleration? And in another positively af-
§. 4. firms, 'it does not affect the Liberty of Conscience of any 'Occasional Conformist. But we need do no more to prove that depriving the Dissenters of all Places and Employments they hold at present, and taking away the Capacity of ever holding any for the future, is a Penalty and a severe one, than to consider, that 'tis putting a Mark of Infamy and Disgrace upon all Dissenters; that 'tis devesting them not only of a Capacity, which they enjoy by Law at present, as they do the Capacity of taking by Will or Deed

of Gift : but a Capacity of an infinitely higher nature and advantage to a Man of a publick Spirit, and who has ſo juſt a Taſt of things, as to eſteem Uſefulneſs one of the moſt refin'd Pleaſures, and one of the higheſt ends of Life. 'Tis burying an Occaſional Conformiſt alive, and preventing him from ſerving his Country and his Queen. 'Tis diſpoſſeſſing ſome Men of Places of high Truſt and Honor, which they enjoy by the Favor of their Prince, or of the People : And others of Employments in the nature of Freeholds, which they have purchas'd, and which are bought and ſold as other Freeholds are : And ſome, to mention no more, of Places, by which they and their Familys intirely ſubſiſt.

A Toleration, acccording to Sir H. M. is a Freedom from Reproach, Penaltys, and Proſecutions for Conſcience ſake ; and an Enjoyment of Liberty and Property in every man's way of worſhipping God. This we have ſhewn to be Sir H's Notion of a Toleration before. Let us examine then whether this Deprivation and Incapacity be not as inconſiſtent with theſe Notions of Sir H. as with the true ones. And I will leave it to Sir H. himſelf, whether they are not. For ſince he thinks he can be perſecuted 'by an indecent Expreſſion,' muſt not a Diſſenter think himſelf perſecuted, when he's thus as it were pillory'd, and expos'd as a Villain not fit to be truſted ? When a Diſſenter is depriv'd of a Freehold which he has bought, can he be ſaid to 'enjoy his Property'? Or when he has no courſe left him, but never to go to a Meeting, or to ſtarve (which would be the caſe of many Diſſenters, if they were excluded from all Offices) will he retain the 'Liberty of his 'Conſcience? Are ſuch Methods as theſe no Severitys ? No B. p.3.§.2.
'Temporal Puniſhments? Puniſhments they are according to Sir H's Notion of Puniſhments, and his own Confeſſion : B. p.7.§.2.
and God be prais'd, ſince Sir H. don't ſeem quite out of hopes of inflicting 'em, they are not Eternal ones. And

if his Expectation should be answer'd, and a Law should pass, threatning the Dissenters with such Severitys, will Sir H. pass his word that there shall be 'no Prosecutions' commenc'd upon 'em? Upon the whole then, how unjustly is it asserted, that a Bill that would have rob'd the Dissenters of so many just Rights, and laid 'em under so many Hardships, 'would not have incroach'd in the least
B. p.3.§.4. 'on any Dissenter's Privileges, nor have affected the Li-'berty of any Occasional Conformist's Conscience: and that
B. p.3.§.5. 'a Dissenter that is contending against it, contends for no-'thing but Power and Dominion? Whereas 'tis a Toleration of the Conscience of all Protestant Dissenters, and particularly of the Conscience of an Occasional Conformist, and the Principles upon which all Toleration depends both in Fact and Reason, that he's contending for, when he opposes this Bill. ''Tis to defend himself from a real 'Persecution,' and that none of the mildest neither. And
B. p. 11. this is 'both the Dispute, that I may use Sir H's words,
§. 4. 'and the End why the Dissenters are so much incited to 'oppose this Bill: and this is the Reason, why they not 'only imagine,' but are certain, 'that the same is design'd 'to bring a real Hardship upon 'em for Conscience sake. But supposing they were not wholly acting the Christian, and preventing a Persecution, which often proves a Temptation as well as a Hardship to honest men, and were only pleading for their Rights as English-men, are they to blame? Why then does Sir H. upon this occasion ask the
B. p.4.§.1. Dissenters, 'whether there is no hopes of going to a bet-'ter World without a publick Employment? A Question that, as it stands here, would have been a more proper one for a Julian to have made to a Christian, or for Lewis the 14th to his Hugonots, than for one Protestant to put to another. But however, tho there's no Occasional Conformist makes any doubt of it, or whether a man mayn't get thither without an Estate too; yet if he can't have his Passage

Passage to Heaven thro this World so free and easy without his Employment or his Estate, as with 'em, mayn't he do what he can to defend or regain 'em? But I'm sure if the Dissenters be of the opinion, that they could not get to Heaven without an Employment, they would have very good reason to think Sir H. and his Party did not differ from them, since they take so much pains to engross them all to themselves.

3. But to what end are the Dissenters to have no Places, and some others to have 'em all? Will the incapacitating Dissenters to hold any Place or Employment, convince them, and bring 'em over to the Church? Are Deprivations and Incapacitys any of Sir H's three gentle Methods, which are proper to attain that end? One would have thought that they could neither introduce the Excellency of the Establish'd Church into the Minds of Dissenters by Love and Kindness, nor be either Reasons, Arguments, or a good Example. Sir H. seems to be aware of this; and therefore that he might leave room for his Reader to think that these Penaltys might compass this End, notwithstanding any thing he had said to the contrary, he don't any where in terms deny, that Penaltys are improper means to convince the Mind, or that Reasons, Arguments and a good Example are the only proper means to do it: But drops a word, which if it have any meaning, is to give us to understand, that some *Penaltys are 'proper' to convince* the Dissenters. 'Tis true Sir H. lays it down, 'that 'nothing can be more free than the Mind of Man, and 'that nothing can prevail upon it, but what is introduc'd 'with Love and Kindness. And indeed any one would imagine, that the Conclusion drawn from those Principles would have been, that since Penaltys are neither Love nor Kindness, they were wholly improper to prevail upon the Mind: and that is the Conclusion that necessarily follows from them. But Sir H's Conclusion is e'en as arbitrary

Pref. p. 2. §. 1.

Ibid.

and

and free as he says Man's Mind is, and amounts to no more
Ibid. than this, that gentle Methods are 'more' (instead of the only) proper, and 'more' (instead of the only) likely means to bring the Dissenters over to the Church, than Penaltys and Punishments. Sir H. might e'en as well have concluded, if he had pleas'd, that therefore Penaltys and Punishments were the likeliest means to do it, and by as good a Deduction from his Premises. Methinks 'tis very hard Sir H. should have any thoughts at all of punishing the Dissenters for differing from the Principles of other Folks, who is not to be precluded by the necessity of the closest Connexion from differing from his own. But tho it should be at the expence of never so many Consequences and Illations from his own Principles, Sir H. will not suffer himself to be debar'd the Liberty of Persecution. And it must be allow'd that Sir H. has been singularly cautious, lest he should have precluded himself from beginning one, when he shall see good. And if we attend to his Inference, and not to that which is the natural one, he has left room enough to commence it to morrow, if he thinks fit. For tho what is introduc'd by Love and Kindness is the most proper (so 'tis in his Conclusion, but the only proper in his Premises) Method to prevail, yet have a care Gentlemen! If you stand out, and thereby convince Sir H. that gentle Methods are not the most proper to bring you into the Church, Sir H. has another course in reserve. If you won't lead, which were indeed to be wish'd, Sir H. don't say you shan't be driven. But tho the Force of Sir H's own Principles han't been able to carry him off from persecuting Ground, because in all likelihood he wrote in so much haste, as not to take time to look about him, and see where he was; yet 'tis to be hop'd, when he shall seriously reflect at his leisure, whether Truth and his own Principles would have led him, if he had given up himself to their Conduct; he will see that he has stopt short, and

will,

will, I hope, immediately give up himself to be led to the furthest length, that the Principles of an absolute Toleration will carry him.

4. Whether the Truth of Sir H's Principles did not give him some little check when he was writing this, I can't pretend to say. But he has been as cautious as if they had: Having only dropt one word, which might rather leave a Reserve and an Outlet to himself, than give a hint to his Reader. But Sir H. has another good end to serve by Penaltys, besides convincing the Dissenters, of which he seems a little freer. And therefore having but barely insinuated their Aptitude to convince the Minds of Men, which he had own'd were free, he insists more upon it, that *they are proper and effectual to dispose the Mind for Conviction.* Which if they be, Sir H. seems to think that tho this Incapacity, that was design'd to be brought upon the Dissenters, consider'd as a Penalty, shou'd be improper to convince 'em, yet it ought to be brought upon 'em, to dispose 'em to be convinc'd. For he says, after Pref. p. 1. §. 9. all that he has said of the Freedom of Man's Mind, and that nothing can prevail upon it, but what is introduc'd with Love and Kindness; and that the gentle Methods of Reasons, Arguments, and a good Example, are much more proper and likely means to bring the Dissenters over to the Church, than Penaltys and Punishments, 'yet he Pref. p. 2. §. 1. 'cannot conceive that these means will be render'd less 'effectual (that's Sir H's modest way of expressing it, but he must mean that they will be render'd more effectual, if he's consistent with himself) 'by the Influence and 'Assistance of such a Bill. And this is the Advantage which I suppose Sir H. tells the Queen, 'the Members of Ded. p. 4. 'the Church of England will find by these gentle Methods.

If Deprivations and Incapacitys wou'd dispose the Dissenters to be convinc'd, and were proper for that end, then

then all the penal Laws are much more ſo, and ought to ſtand in full force againſt them. For if Hardſhips are proper to that end, the greater they are, the more likely are they to be effectual. And I ſuppoſe they are to be continu'd, till 'tis judg'd that the Diſſenters Minds are in a right Diſpoſition: And then Sir H's Scheme will be this. The Diſſenters are to be tolerated that they may be convinc'd, and perſecuted that they may be diſpos'd for Conviction. But Perſecution being to precede, the Diſſenters won't have much to thank Sir H. for, ſince for a good reaſon (which we ſhall give preſently) their Toleration is hardly ever like to follow.

But if Hardſhips and Inconveniences were the only thing neceſſary to diſpoſe the Diſſenters for Conviction;
B. p. 9. §. 1. or if nothing more was needful than to encline Men 'by 'Intereſt to make a more favorable Enquiry into the Nature 'of the Church,' in order to bring 'em into it: Caſhiering them of their Places wou'd not be neceſſary to this end. For the Diſſenters find ſo many Diſadvantages by their Separation, and have ſo many agreeable Proſpects in a Return, that they don't want Temptations to conform, neither of the one ſort nor of the other. Their Diſtance from the Church has nothing attending it but Reproach and Difficulty, beſides the ſatisfaction of their own Minds. They are precluded in a manner from Uſefulneſs, Honor, and Preferment; and have little left 'em, but as Sir H. in-
B. p. 3. §. 3. timates, 'the Liberty of being Mechanics. If theſe Hardſhips are not thought ſufficient to make the Diſſenters wiſh for a Reconciliation, and it ſhall be deem'd neceſſary to that end to lay 'em under greater, Sir H. may, for ought I know, by the ſame reaſon think Confiſcation, Baniſhment, and a Dungeon at laſt, the proper means to attain it.

But how does Sir H. propoſe that this Incapacity ſhall diſpoſe the Diſſenters to be convinc'd? Why
Pref. p. 2. §. 1. thus: By making 'em 'to wiſh a Reconciliation with the 'Church,

'Church, and 2. to enquire into its Nature and Excellen-
'cy. An *admirable Method* truly of disposing Mens Minds to be convinc'd. Their Hopes of worldly Advantage, and their Fears of Reproach and Shame, with a thousand other Passions, must be rais'd to a good height; and then, just at the nick of time, when they are at a certain pitch, the Men are to enquire that they may be convinc'd. That is to say, a Dissenter must be brib'd and intimidated, in order to make him judg aright, concerning the Excellency of the Establish'd Church. One wou'd think Sir H. had no great Opinion of its Excellency, when he places all the likelihood of Conviction upon that, which the wise Man tells us, blinds the Eyes. And I confess, I can't but suspect, that Sir H. is not that Churchman at the bottom, nor his Zeal for the Church so happily founded, upon a just Enquiry into its Nature, and a Conviction of its Excellency, as he perhaps fancys, and tells the World it is; since he's afraid that the Occasional Conformity of Officers to the Church of England, that is to say, their frequenting of other Religious Assemblys, is as likely a means to ruin the Church of England, as the Occasional Conformity of Papists (that is to say, the Papists frequenting the Church of England) was a means to ruin Popery at the beginning of the Reformation. Which is, as if Sir H. had said, that the Dissenting Assemblys have as much more Excellency than the Establish'd Church, as the Church of England had at that time, above that of Rome: And that the Church of England stands in need of the same Methods to support her against the Dissenters, and has just the same dangers to fear from them, which the Church of Rome had from the Reformation. Are you sure, Sir H. to accommodate your own words, with some small variation, to our present purpose upon a like Occasion: 'That there is no lurking
'Papist, no French Politician behind the Curtain, striving
'for Popery and Arbitrary Power, under the specious pre-

Pref. p. 2. §. 1, 2.

B. p. 9. §. 5. p. 10. §. 2.

B. p. 11. §. 2.

'tences of gaining Proselytes to the Church,' from whom you have taken this Method of a Popish and a false Church, but not of a Protestant and a true one? For Truth can be prejudic'd by nothing so much as Passion, nor Falshood be so effectually supported by any thing else.

But after all, if 'tis proper to make Men wish a thing to be true, in order to convince 'em that it is so; and that Dissenters want the Invitations of Advantages to make
B. p. 9. §. 3. 'em Churchmen; why, since Sir H. don't deny but Occasional Conformity is of service to the Church, why, I say, is he against the Dissenters having those Advantages by it that they now have, in order to convince 'em of its Lawfulness and its Expediency? and why does he think upon his Principles, that Occasional Conformity will be as much practis'd after 'tis no Inlet into Places, as now it is? For if Sir H. thinks that Occasional Conformity will continue alive without any thing but Principles to support it, and yet thinks the Church in danger without giving her greater advantages than those she has, either he must think, that the Principles of Occasional Conformity are better than those of Constant Conformity, and so need the foreign Support of Advantage less, or else that the Occasional Conformists are better Men than the Churchmen, and will do that from their Principles, which the Churchmen without concomitant Advantages won't do from theirs.

But if notwithstanding the Inconsistency of this Opinion with Truth, and another of Sir H's Assertions, he shall think the raising Mens Passions a proper means to make 'em think cooly and enquire; let us see, whether *enquiring* into the Nature and Excellency of the Church, *be the End* for which Sir H. wou'd have this Method us'd? And without all question it is not. For if Incapacitys and Deprivations were only to make Men enquire into the Nature and Excellency of the Establish'd Church, they should be prescrib'd to some Churchmen.

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For all Churchmen have not made that Enquiry; and then they ought to be incapacitated for all Offices, to make them enquire into the Excellency of a Church, to which they conform'd only from Education, Custom, Ease or Advantage. And if Men were only to be incapacitated to make 'em enquire into the Nature and Excellency of the Establish'd Church, then as some Churchmen shou'd be incapacitated, so all Dissenters shou'd not. For some of 'em have enquir'd into it as much as they can already. They assure us they have, and appeal to Heaven for the Truth of it. And Sir H. ought in Charity to believe them: I'm sure 'tis out of his Province to judg whether they have or no. That must be left to Almighty God, who only knows their Capacitys and Opportunitys, and who therefore alone can determine whether they have made the Enquiry as diligently as they cou'd, or whether they have not. *Ay*, but says Sir H. 'They have not sufficiently enquir'd, for if they had, 'they wou'd by consequence not be occasionally, but 'heartily and sincerely reconcil'd to the Church.' Sir H. shou'd have said constantly and entirely, if he wou'd have talk'd charitably or agreeably to the tenor of his Argument here. So that with Sir H. enquiring into the Nature and Excellency of the Church, and conforming uninterruptedly to it, are the same thing. Now Sir H. speaks out, what he has been but muttering before. And the Dissenters are to be punish'd by Deprivations and Incapacitys, that they may be forc'd to conform. And not as he has been pretending all this while, that they may be dispos'd to Conviction, by being made to wish, that they cou'd conform, in order to make 'em enquire into the Nature and Excellency of the Church they are to conform to. And tho indeed 'tis no difference to the Dissenter, whether he be punish'd to make him conform to the Church, or whether he be punish'd, that by being brought

Pref. p. 2. §. 1.

to wiſh he cou'd conform, and enquiring into Conformity, he may be convinc'd 'tis his Duty; yet the latter is the fairer pretence for a Perſecutor to make of the two. So that I'm ſorry for the Truth's ſake, Sir H. cou'd think of either of theſe Methods; and for his Reputation's ſake, that he did not rather keep to the laſt.

5. But Sir. H. thinks that if depriving and incapacitating the Diſſenters of all Offices won't do any Service to the Church, yet that at leaſt 'tis no Injury to the Diſſenters. Becauſe they have *no Title* to hold Offices, or ſo much as to the capacity of holding 'em *by the Act of Toleration.*

B.p.3.§.3. For it is ſaid, 'That the Act of Toleration makes no Proviſion, that any Diſſenters from the National Church ſhou'd be thereby entitul'd or qualify'd for publick Offices and Employments.' And that therefore to diſqualify 'em is not contrary to the Toleration. Admirably well argued! No more does it make any Proviſion, that any Diſſenter from the National Church, ſhou'd be thereby entitul'd and qualify'd to poſſeſs an Eſtate; and does it therefore follow, that to diſqualify the Diſſenters from poſſeſſing an Eſtate, is not contrary to the Act of Toleration? A Diſſenter enjoys his Rights and Privileges by the ſame Laws that other Men do. Some penal Laws had depriv'd the Diſſenters of ſeveral of thoſe Rights; and all that the Toleration does, is to reſtore thoſe that were taken away; but it can't reſtore thoſe that never were taken away. Now the Capacity of holding a Place, and the actual poſſeſſion of one, were never taken from an Occaſional Conformiſt by any Law whatſoever: nor therefore does the Occaſional Conformiſt want a Toleration to reſtore 'em.

Nor can it be ſaid, that to deprive and incapacitate the Diſſenters of all Offices, is *not inconſiſtent with the Act of*

B.p.3.§.2. *Toleration.* Sir H. indeed ſays it is not, upon this Reaſon; Becauſe the Toleration only exempts the Diſſenters from

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the Penaltys of certain Laws mention'd and enumerated in that Act. And if a Bill had pass'd to incapacitate Dissenters from holding Offices, Sir H. says it had inflicted no Penalty that the Toleration exempts 'em from. No, but it wou'd have inflicted a new Penalty: It wou'd have been a Penalty in the nature of a Fine to those who possess some sort of Places, and in some Instances without a salvo Contenemento. And it wou'd have been a Penalty and a Temporal Punishment upon all, for not conforming to the National Church, instead of the gentle Methods of Reason, Arguments, and a good Example. The Toleration does not exempt the Dissenters from being burnt in the Cheek: But I suppose if a Law shou'd pass to burn 'em all in the Cheek, Sir H. wou'd hardly think it was consistent with the Toleration. For the Act of Toleration being an ease given to tender Consciences, all Penaltys are inconsistent with it. And if this incapacitating Bill had pass'd, a new Act of Toleration wou'd have been as necessary to exempt the Dissenters from it, and to restore 'em to their Capacity, as the Act of Toleration, that pass'd in the first Year of the Reign of K. William and Q. Mary of ever Glorious Memory, was to restore 'em to other Rights, and to remove other Penaltys, which were in force against 'em. Indeed Sir H. pretends, that the Occasional Conformists stood excluded from Places, by the plain Intent and Meaning of the Corporation and Test Acts. If they had, there wou'd have been more force in Sir H's Argument, because the Act of Toleration has not exempted the Dissenters from the Hardships of those Acts. But I hope to convince the Reader in another place, that the Exclusion of Occasional Conformists, is neither the meaning of the Acts, nor the Design of the Framers of them. I shall only say this in answer at present, that Sir H. knows very well, that this wou'd not pass for the plain Intent and Meaning of those Acts in West-

Westminster-Hall. Or if it wou'd, there had been no need of this Bill, which Sir H. has taken so much pains to defend.

Having premis'd this, I believe we may be able to answer the Querys Sir H. puts upon this Head, in which he every where mightily abounds; and with this Peculiarity, that tho Querys are Appeals to the common sense of Mankind, upon the confidence that no body can disagree with the Querist, Sir H. generally puts his, where there's the greatest need of Arguments to convince, and where the common Sense of Mankind is the most against him.

E. p. 3. § 3. The first Query is, 'Whether there be one word in the 'whole Act,' i. e. of Toleration, 'to that purpose,' *viz.* of qualifying a Dissenter for publick Offices and Employments. Answ. No. Nor need there be any such Clause in that Act, to make the disqualifying of Dissenters a Persecution. Qu. 'Did the Dissenters ever desire any 'such thing? Answ. What thing do you mean? To be qualify'd? Yes, they think they are qualify'd by Occasional Conformity according to Law, and desire to continue so; and wou'd think it very hard if their Case may not be alter'd for the better, that it shou'd be alter'd for the worse. Qu. 'Or did they desire any thing more than 'Liberty of Conscience to serve God in their own way.' Answ. No. And therefore they desire to be free from all Deprivations and Incapacitys, for serving God sometimes in a Church, and sometimes in a Meeting, which is one way by which they think they can serve him. He goes on, Qu. 'And to enjoy their Libertys and Propertys? Answ. Some Places are Freeholds and a part of their Property, and therefore they desire not to be divested of 'em; and a Capacity to enjoy a Place is their Right, and a part of English Liberty; and therefore they hope they shan't be depriv'd of it neither, for serving God in their own way; nor that a Law shou'd pass to do it, upon which they

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ſhou'd find themſelves 'troubled with Proſecutions for 'Conſcience only.' So falſly is it ſaid, that 'this Bill only 'ſecur'd the Eſtabliſh'd Government in Church and State, 'by ſuch gentle Methods as are conſiſtent with the Act 'of Toleration. For in a word, 'tis equally inconſiſtent with a Toleration to take away any Privilege, the Perſon tolerated enjoys by the virtue of the Act of Toleration it ſelf, or by any other Law; and equally inconſiſtent with it to enact a Law, that has a Penalty which the Act of Toleration has exempted a Diſſenter from; or to enact a Law that inflicts a Penalty, which not exiſting before the Act of Toleration, that Act cou'd not exempt him from. And 'tis but quibbling inſtead of arguing to aſſert the contrary, and to defend the Bill by ſuch an Aſſertion. Ded. p. 3. §. 2.

6. But it will be ſaid, that if the Diſſenters are capable of publick Employments by the Act of Toleration, or by any other Law; yet that they ought not to be ſuffer'd to continue ſo, becauſe they are Hypocrites and Schiſmaticks. All Diſſenters but Occaſional Conformiſts are barr'd already, and they it ſeems ought to be: And here lys the Strength of what may be ſaid againſt them. For tho we have prov'd the Right a Diſſenter has to a Toleration in general, and ſhew'd that an Occaſional Conformiſt has the ſame Right with other Diſſenters, and that depriving and incapacitating him is a Perſecution, that is neither proper to convince him, nor to diſpoſe him to Conviction, and that 'tis inconſiſtent with the Act of Toleration; yet if we can't ſhew that the charge of Hypocriſy and Schiſm ought not to impeach their Right, the main Objection wou'd be left unanſwer'd. I ſhall therefore apply my ſelf more particularly to conſider 'em. Firſt it is ſaid in proof, that if they have a Right to ſome Places, and to a Capacity of all, that Right ſhou'd not be continu'd to 'em, becauſe they are Hypocrites. Sir H. ſays, B. p. 6. §. 6. their Separation is a wilful one, and that they only con-

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form for an Office, tho 'tis a pretty odd Reason he assigns, viz. because every Man that has an Office does conform.

But, 1. the Occasional Conformists desire leave to be heard to the Plea of Hypocrisy that's made use of against 'em, and alledg that the Fact is false, and the Consequence unjust. They in the first place lay it down that they are no Hypocrites. A Hypocrite is one whose Actions are inconsistent with his Principles, and who is conscious that they are so. The bare Inconsistency of a Man's Principles with his Actions can't make a Man a Hypocrite, because that Inconsistency may proceed from Ignorance, Inadvertency or Mistake. And tho a Man that's guilty of these may be a weak Man, yet no Man is a Hypocrite thro mere Weakness: And if Inconsistency made a Hypocrite, shew me that Man that's sincere. For since the Christian Principles are all good, no Man that professes them can at all times be consistent with 'em, but he that's perfect. Hence it follows, that Malice and Design must enter into the Character of a Hypocrite, and the Man's Principles must not only be inconsistent with his Practices, or with some other of his Principles, but he must be conscious of that Inconsistency. So that if it could be made out, against what the Occasional Conformists have said for the Consistency of the practice of Occasional Conformity with their Principles, that 'tis inconsistent with 'em; yet till it can be made out, that they are self-condemn'd and conscious of that Inconsistency, it can never be said that they are Hypocrites. If Inconsistencys were the Test of Hypocrites, the Dissenters think they shou'd not be the only Men that cou'd not stand it. And that if the pretended Inconsistency of going sometimes to a Meeting and sometimes to a Church, were sufficient to prove a Dissenter an Hypocrite, going sometimes to a Cathedral and at others to a Parish-Church, sometimes to a Church subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, and sometimes to one exempt from it,

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wou'd fix the same Character upon a Church-man. And I'm persuaded, tho some Persons are pleas'd to stigmatize their Brethren in every breath with the black Character of a Hypocrite, for that which at most can never be prov'd to be more than a well-meant mistaken Practice; yet it wou'd hardly be born of the Dissenters, if they should deal as freely with their Brethren of the Church, and return this good Language, for their taking Oaths upon the Occasion of a good Place, or a good Benefice: Or for their saying, they are mov'd by the Holy Ghost to take the Orders of a Priest, tho they are never mov'd, but when a good Provision (or a Title, as 'tis call'd) moves 'em at the same time: Or for a Chapter's praying to God to move 'em to choose a proper Person to be a Bishop, when the Congè d'eslire don't leave 'em so much room for a Choice, as Hobson did his Fellow Traveller, when he gave him leave to choose whether he wou'd have what he left him, or none at all.

But supposing that the Occasional Conformists are Hypocrites, it does not follow, that they are to lose the benefit of a Toleration, unless they are injurious to the Society, or some Member of it. For Hypocrisy is no *Civil Crime*, 'tis no Offence against the Society; and therefore 'tis not the Magistrate's business to restrain it by Laws and Penaltys. 'Tis an Offence against God indeed, and won't fail of a just Punishment from him in this World or the next. But the Cognizance of it is not committed to the Magistrate, any more than the Cognizance of Lying, of unclean Thoughts, Malice or Covetousness, or of a thousand other Crimes, which no State ever thought of restraining by Laws and Penaltys. If Hypocrisy comes to be immediately injurious to the Society, it then falls under the Magistrate's notice: But 'tis the Injury then that is punish'd, and not the Hypocrisy. And when the Occasional Conformist shall become a

Breaker of the Peace as well as a Hypocrite, he won't pretend to the benefit of a Toleration.

And indeed that the Punishment of Hypocrisy is foreign to the business of a Magistrate, don't only appear from his want of a Commission to punish it, and that to punish it is not necessary to the Ends of Society, which are to be the measure of all Laws; but because it wou'd be *impracticable.* For Hypocrisy lying in the Consciousness of the Inconsistency of a man's Actions and Principles, is a Crime not capable of being describ'd by a Law, so as to bear a Trial: For what Evidences can swear (unless some such as were us'd in a Reign, whose Crime was rather Impudence than Hypocrisy) that an Occasional Conformist is conscious of this Inconsistency? And what Judg or Jury can find or condemn it? Actions can only come under their notice; and tho 'Scribere' may be 'Agere', yet surely 'Cogitare' can't. A Crime of this Spiritual nature can have no Judg but him that trys the Heart and the Reins, and who don't only know the Thoughts of our Hearts, but the Relation and Reference they bear to one another.

But tho the Occasional Conformists are satisfy'd that they are not guilty of Hypocrisy, and that Hypocrisy is a Crime that is not liable to Civil Punishment, nor capable of Trial and Conviction; yet I believe I may venture to make this *Proposal* in their Name, That they will contentedly stand excluded from all Offices, when all other Hypocrites shall be excluded too: And particularly when the State Hypocrites shall; whom they can't but think more dangerous than they are: Such, I mean, as have never sign'd the Association, or taken the Oaths, or such who have talk'd openly against them, till accepting or keeping some Place of Profit or Honor made it necessary. If Hypocrisy be the Crime to be punish'd in an Occasional Conformist, then all Hypocrisy is to be punish'd; or else when the Occasional

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Conformists are pretended to be punish'd for Hypocrisy, something else must be meant. But when all State Hypocrites shall be debar'd from Places, the Occasional Conformists think, their Country won't want their Service: and so will willingly see themselves laid aside. Tho they are afraid if the Exclusion should be in general of all Hypocrites, it wou'd go with us here as it did at Rome in times of extraordinary difficulty; and that there would be more Places than Candidates and Officers to supply 'em: Or as it went at the Trial of the Woman taken in Adultery, and brought before our Saviour, there would be too many convicted Criminals, to leave any to be Judges.

Thus the Occasional Conformists, in the first place, think they have remov'd the Bar, that's laid against their Plea to a Toleration: And the Dissenters desire in the 2d place to be heard to the Charge of Schism that's made against theirs: And in this case they deny the Fact, and disallow of the consequence, as the Occasional Conformists did in the other; and neither think themselves guilty of Schism, nor that Schism forfeits a Man's Right to a Toleration. They in the first place deny the Fact, and plead that they are not guilty of *Schism*, as it is describ'd and blam'd in the *Holy Scriptures*. For Nonconformity does not dissolve the Ty, by which he's united to the Mystical Body of Christ. Love to all the Members of that Sacred Body, has made him One with it: And till *Uncharitableness* shall break that Band, he thinks he can never be divided from it. He loves all the Members of this Holy Community, he honours 'em: He has a concern for 'em, and a studious desire to serve 'em: He halves their Sorrows, and receives a sensible Pleasure from their Joys. He envys not their Honors, and chearfully bears their Reproach and Shame. And whilst he feels this Sympathy with all the Members, he hopes he may be pretty secure, that he partakes of that Life and Spirit

which animates and cements the Whole: and that he's not a benum'd or dead Member, which receives none of that Influence from the Head, that directs and governs all the living ones.

He may indeed endeavor to be ſerviceable to himſelf, and uſeful to his Fellow-Members, in a way different from ſome others of 'em. But he's not much concern'd at the Clamors rais'd againſt him for this *Difference*, whilſt he don't manage it uncharitably: Since 'differences of 'Gifts may proceed from the ſame Spirit, and different 'Adminiſtrations from the ſame Head and Lord: and all 'of 'em may be for the profit and advantage of the 'Whole.' And if after all he ſhould be miſtaken; and this Difference ſhould not be ſo ſerviceable, as an entire Uniformity would be; yet he thinks a meer Miſtake concerning the beſt way of being ſerviceable, can't rend and divide him from this myſtical Community. And he's conſcious of no deſign to diſſerve his Fellow Members, or not to ſerve 'em at all. For whence does it neceſſarily follow, that a Diſſenter manages his Differences from the Eſtabliſh'd Church uncharitably, or that he has ſelfiſh Ends to ſerve by em; or that they proceed from overvaluing himſelf, or undervaluing his Brother; from being fond of one Chriſtian, or neglecting, deſpiſing, hating and envying another. * He that is uncharitable in ſuch

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* *Theſe ſeveral Inſtances of Schiſm are ſo many Inſtances of Uncharitableneſs: And therefore St. Paul with the greateſt propriety, preſcribes Charity as the cure of Schiſm, in* 1 *Cor. Chap.* 13. *after he had elegantly deſcrib'd the nature of Schiſm in the* 12*th: And no Remedy could reach the whole of the caſe ſo effectually. For Charity is contrary to every Spring and Inſtance of Schiſm: For* 1*ſt* it ſeeketh not its own; 2*dly*, is not puffed up, *nor* vaunts it ſelf; 3*dly*, is kind; 4*thly*, rejoiceth only in the Truth; 5*thly*, envieth not; 6*thly*, does not behave it ſelf unſeemly: *For it* thinks no Evil, ſuffers long, is not eaſily provok'd: *Ch.* 13. *Ver.* 4, 5,6. *The ſeveral Inſtances of Schiſm, which we have mention'd, and to which Charity is oppos'd, may be found in moſt or all the Places of Scripture, where Schiſm* is

ſuch Inſtances, and from ſuch indulged Luſts as theſe, is only concern'd for himſelf, or for ſome particular Members of Chriſt's Body, in oppoſition to others; but can never be truly concern'd for 'em all: ſince he's not concern'd for 'em as Members of that Body, but as Members paſſing under ſome peculiar Denomination; and conſequently muſt be the Schiſmatick that is deſcrib'd and reprimanded in the Holy Scriptures.

If any Diſſenter ſhould be uncharitable in theſe reſpects, and from ſuch Principles, he muſt neceſſarily come under this

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is ſpoken of. (1ſt.) *A Difference, that as ſuch wou'd be no Schiſm, becomes Schiſm when it is uncharitably manag'd; and this is commonly an Ingredient of moſt Schiſms ſpoken of in Scripture. In the* 1 *Cor.* 1. 11. *'tis call'd* Contention; *and in the* 3. 3. Strife. *The* (2d) *Inſtance of Schiſm is deſcrib'd* 16 *Rom.* 17, 18. *where we are told, that thoſe* that cauſe Diviſions, ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but by good words and fair ſpeeches deceive the Hearts of the Simple. *The* (3d) *Inſtance of Schiſm we are forbid in Rom.* 12. 3. *where St. Paul* thro the Grace given him commands every Man that was among them, not to think of himſelf more highly than he ought to think; but to think ſoberly of himſelf, according as God had dealt to every man the meaſure of Faith. *The Pride of the Rich, in eating their Love Feaſts before the Poor, was poſſibly the Schiſm that St. Paul reprimands* 2 *Cor.* 18. 21, 22. *The* (4th) *is forbid at Ver.* 10. *where St. Paul commands them* to be kindly affectioned one to another, in honour preferring one another; *and more expreſly in* 1 *Cor.* 12. *from the* 12*th Verſe, to the end of that Chapter; where the Apoſtle by the juſt temperament of the Uſefulneſs and Comelineſs of the ſeveral Parts of the Body, and the Sympathy and Care that each Member has thereupon of the whole, elegantly expreſſes the nature of this Inſtance of Schiſm; which conſiſts in deſpiſing our Fellow Chriſtians: And the Corinthians overvaluing their own Gifts, and deſpiſing thoſe of their Brethren, was very probably the occaſion of the* 11, 12, 13, *and* 14 *Chapters of his* 1*ſt Epiſtle to them; in which he fervently animates them againſt it. The Schiſm of the Corinthians, that St. Paul reproves 'em for in the* 1*ſt Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle, may ſerve as a proof of the* (5th) *Inſtance. In the* 10*th Verſe he* beſeeches 'em, that there be no Diviſions among 'em: but that they be perfectly join'd together in the ſame Mind, and in the ſame Judgment; *which was,* that no Man ſhould glory in *particular* Men, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, 1 *Cor.* 3. 21, 22. *and that they ſhould* not think of [*particular*] men above what is written: that no one of them ſhould be puffed up for one againſt another; *but ſhould think Paul and Apollos* Miniſters of Chriſt, ch. 3. v. 5. and Stewards of the Myſteries of God, ch. 4. v. 1. *An Inſtance of the* (6th) *is in the* 3 Chap. 3. *ſince there were* Envyings *and* Diviſions *amongſt 'em.*

this unhappy Character. But there is no necessity, because a Man dissents from the Church, that he should deserve it, or that he should not because he conforms. These are Crimes which *Conformists* and *Nonconformists* are *equally capable of*, since they are not to be avoided by meer Conformity, nor perpetrated by a mistaken Non-conformity: but consist in Uncharitableness, founded in proneness to Strife; in selfish Designs; Pride or Insolence; Fondness of one Man, or Slight and Hatred to another. And since these are the Springs, and the very Quintessence of Schism, 'tis not difficult to determine, which of the Two are most liable to the Guilt and the Temptation: Whether the Dissenters, who are expos'd to the Cross by their Dissent, and who only beg leave to differ from the Establish'd Church themselves, and to think their own Ministers and Churches better suited to the Ends of their Edification, without condemning Conformity in others; or denying many of their Ministers the Character of Learning and Piety, or the Establish'd Church, that of a true one: Or They, whose Conformity is accompany'd with Worldly Advantages, as well as Spiritual ones; and who would engross 'em both to themselves: Excluding other Men from the Divine Presence in the next World, and from the regular and ordinary means of Grace in this.

Thus we see the Schism, that's so severely inveigh'd against in the Holy Scripture, is Uncharitableness; and wherever that is not to be found, be there what other Differences or Separations you will, there is no Schism. And since the Dissenters are not chargeable with the Scripture Notion of Schism, they care not under what charge they ly of Schism, of Mens making. They pay a great deference to the Judgment of the Fathers, and the Opinions of great Divines; but they have learnt to call no man Master but Christ, and to stand in awe of no Man's

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Judgment but the Lord's. And therefore if Fathers or Divines wou'd teach 'em new Notions of Schism, they can't receive 'em, in case they disagree with the Doctrines of their great Prophet. And if they shou'd be condemn'd by them, yet they know their Lord, who will judg according to none but the Sacred Rule, will upon an Appeal to him reverse their Decision. And yet the Dissenters think they are not chargeable with the Schism, which is describ'd and condemn'd by the Fathers and modern Divines, neither. Schism, *in the Opinion of the Fathers* of the three first Centurys, according to a very impartial Representation of the Notions and Practice of those Times, which has yet receiv'd no Answer, is an unnecessary Desertion of a lawful Bishop. And a lawful Bishop in their Writings, is the Pastor of a single Congregation, chosen by the Majority of the Members of that Church, approv'd by the neighbouring Pastors, and ordain'd by the Imposition of their Hands. And that which they took to be an unnecessary Desertion of this Bishop, was deserting him, tho he was not chargeable with Heresy, Apostacy or Immorality. Now certainly, according to this Notion of Schism, the *Dissenters can't be chargeable with it*, who bore so violent a Persecution, rather than be guilty of this unnecessary Desertion of their lawful Bishops, in 62: Since they were not ejected for Heresy, Apostacy or Immorality; but for not conforming to impos'd Rites: A Compliance which wou'd never have been urg'd by the best of the Fathers, who always esteem'd Imposing Rites upon another Church, as an Act of Tyranny in the Imposer.

Enquiry into the Const. Discip. Unity and Worship of the Primit. Church, Part 1. p. 63--67. 214--218.

P. 213.

Thus the Dissenters think they stand clear'd from the Scriptural and Ecclesiastical Charge of Schism. But Divinity, which shou'd indeed be nothing but an Account of the Scripture, but which happens oftner to be any thing besides, gives another Notion of Schism. And tho it does not im-

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port a Christian much what it is; nor who is chargeable with it; yet since this Theological Scarecrow has frighted men mightily of late, it may possibly be of some service to see whether the Dissenters are not inditable of the Schism of the *Modern English Divines*. Schism in their opinion is an unnecessary Separation from a lawful Establish'd Church. 'Tis plain that this is no Scripture Notion of Schism; for
1 Cor. 11. 18. 21. the Corinthians were guilty of Schism, when they were gather'd together. But be it a definition of what it will, when 'tis understood, it will be at the same time understood, that the Dissenters are not included in it. (1.) *Separation* in this definition can't mean meerly a Local one: for then every Congregation wou'd be Schismatical, since 'tis locally separated from another. (2.) Neither can it mean bare Non-Communion; for then a Man, who never communicated with any Church but his Parish one, wou'd be a Schismatick: whereas it wou'd be very strange, that a Man shou'd be a Schismatick for communicating with the Congregation, which he is oblig'd to communicate with, by the Rules of the Church. (3.) Nor can it mean a bare Difference in Worship or Jurisdiction: For then either Parish-Churches, and Churches subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, or Cathedrals and Exemptions must be Schismatical Churches; for Cathedrals and Parish-Churches have many differences in their manner of Worship; and Exemptions are not subject to the Episcopal Jurisdiction that others are. (4.) Nor can it mean bare Non-Communion founded on this difference; for then a Man living in a Parish, exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction, or that always worships in a Cathedral, and never communicated with any other, which a Man may do and remain a good Churchman, must be a Schismatick. And if it did mean a bare Non-Communion founded on this difference, the Occasional Conformists cou'd not be included, because they do sometimes join in Communion with the Church; whom

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I suppose the Framers of this Definition don't design to excuse. (5.) Nor can it mean an avow'd abstinence from Communion, founded upon a difference in Worship or Jurisdiction (which I believe is the common Acceptation of the word) any more than a bare Non-Communion founded on that difference. For if it did, a Parishioner of an exempted Parish, who liking the Discipline and the Preaching of the Minister in that Parish better than in any other, and who shou'd upon that account never communicate with any other Parish-Church, would be a Schismatick: Which cannot be granted any more, than that a Man shou'd be a Schismatick, for communicating constantly with his Parish-Church. So that there is no sense of Separation, by which many Members being in sole and constant Communion with the Church of England will not be Schismaticks, as well as Dissenters. And for this Reason I can't see, that the Schism of the Dissenters can be properly included, under the general notion of Separation.

Neither can I see, that when 'tis restrain'd to an *Unnecessary* Separation from a lawful Establish'd Church, it will describe the Dissenters Schism any better; since then it will neither exclude all Churchmen, nor comprize all Dissenters. In order to shew this, we'l consider the other parts of the Definition. By an Unnecessary Separation is meant a Separation, that is not made upon the account of some sinful Terms of Communion. Well, be it so. All Dissenters think an entire Communion with the Church wou'd be to them upon sinful Conditions: For it wou'd, in their Opinion, be upon Condition of being Partys to sinful Impositions, Corruptions and faulty Defects, and of less Edification. And the same Scripture that commands us to be Holy, commands us to grow in Holiness, express'd there by its Parts, 'Grace, and the 'Knowledg of Jesus Christ.' And the Command that en- 2 Pet.3.18.

joins us the End, enjoins us the Means that we think necessary to that End. And by consequence it wou'd be sinful in a Dissenter, who thinks other Christian Assemblys more likely to forward his spiritual Improvements than the Church, to communicate with her. All Dissenters agree in these Principles, tho they differ in applying 'em. Some being of Opinion, that the consequence of these Principles is, that so much as Occasional and Partial Communion with the Church is unlawful, because they think, even that is making themselves Partys to the Faults of the Church: Whilst others think, for the Reasons alledg'd before, that 'tis only Constant and Total Communion that can abet 'em; and upon that account, the only Communion whose Conditions are unlawful.

And by this it appears, that all Separation from a *Lawful* Church is not Schism: Since better Edification is a Reason for Separation, as well as avoiding Communion with a false Church; and that a good Christian may separate not only from a false Church, but from an ill Constitution of a sound one. And therefore whilst the Definition stands as it does, it is a Contradiction to it self; since there may be a necessary Separation from a lawful Church, which the Definition implicitly denys. So that, if the other parts of it were just, it cou'd not agree with the thing it defin'd, unless to Lawful be added the best constituted. And unless it run thus, that Schism is an unnecessary Separation from a Lawful and the best constituted Establish'd Church; and then the Dissenters are not concern'd in it.

And as by omitting this the Definition is defective, so the last word, *viz. Establish'd*, is superfluous, and makes the Definition redundant. By an Establish'd Church is meant one that has certain Privileges granted it under the Sanction of human Laws. Now this Establishment may indeed give Privileges to the Church, but can never make it a true one, or give it a good Constitution: And it may make

make it penal for me to separate from it, but it can't make it sinful. For the Magistrate has no Commission to give Laws to the Church, nor has the Church any Power to make any: nor does Christ's Laws want any human Sanction, nor can the Society receive any Benefit by it. How therefore an Establishment of the Church makes it Schism for a Man to separate from it, I confess is not plain to me, unless the neglect of a Magistrates Command in things which he has no Authority to command, be the thing that's meant by Schism.

And indeed if Schism be an unnecessary Separation from an Establish'd Church, as well as a lawful one, there cou'd be no Schism before Constantine's time (above 300 years after there were Christian Churches) since before that time the Lawful Church had no Establishment. But putting the Case, that not complying with the Laws which the Magistrate has made concerning the Church be Schism; then as before those Laws were made, there cou'd be no Schism: so neither can they be guilty of it, for whose Benefit those Laws are dispens'd with. And therefore since the Act of Toleration has dispens'd with all those penal Laws, that were in force to the Dissenters, they can't now be Schismaticks according to this notion of Schism. Nay since the Act of Toleration has not only exempted the Dissenters from the force of the penal Laws, but has given 'em certain Immunitys and Privileges; I know no reason why the Churches of the Dissenters may not be said to be establish'd by the Act of Toleration, as well as the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity; unless the many Privileges the Church has by the one, and the few the Dissenters enjoy by the other, can make the difference. At least, I don't see why this mayn't be asserted, if we may rely upon the Authority of Sir H's Defender; who, upon another occasion, says, that where two Forms of Worship are establish'd by the original Constitution, nei-

Peace and Union, or a Defence of Sir H. M's Treatise on the Occasional Bill, p. 5. §. 4.

neither can be said to be Dissenters from the Establishment. By this time, I hope, the Meaning and the Impropriety of this Definition is sufficiently understood: and how unapplicable it is to the Separation of the Dissenters. Since Schism is not included in Separation; nor is the Separation of the Dissenters unnecessary; nor a Separation from a lawful Church always sinful; and that as there may be a Schism from a lawful Church that has no Establishment, so there may be a Separation from a lawful establish'd Church, where there's no Schism.

But if Schism did consist in a Separation from a lawful establish'd Church, they are *not the Separatists who separate*, because that lawful Church has something they think unlawful, or which they suspect to be so; or at least not only they: But they are the Separatists, who force the others to separate by their Impositions, who make things necessary which they acknowledg to be indifferent, and which they know others scruple as unlawful; and who continue without some other things, which they own to be very desirable. For then the former are debar'd, and don't debar themselves; they are excluded, but don't separate; and are driven from the Communion of the latter, but don't leave it. He wou'd be thought mad, if he were in good earnest, who shou'd fix Rules of Conversation, which he own'd were not necessary to regulate it, and which he knew I wou'd not comply with; and shou'd afterwards cry out upon me for an ill bred Man, because I wou'd not make one of the Company: And He wou'd be thought the ill bred Man, and guilty of an impertinent Sarcasm, if he were in Jest. So that 'tis to be hop'd, that no Body that is either a Friend to the Truth or to the Church, will for the future use a Definition, that may be of some service indeed to the Dissenters, but can never help to support the Church, nor to give us the true notion of Schism.

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But if Schism does consist after all in Separation from the true Church of England, the Gentlemen that use this Definition shou'd tell us, which *of the Churches of England* they mean, since there are two at present which lay claim to the Name. This is the more necessary, since those * who have wrote for the Occasional Conformity Bill, are most of 'em Jacobites and Nonjurors; and stile themselves High Churchmen. When these Men charge the Dissenters with Schism, they mean nothing but a Separation from their separate Assemblys. But certainly no Churchman can think this any Objection to the Dissenters, or can wish that the Nonconformists wou'd quit their Meetings, where the Government is fervently pray'd for, and which are tolerated by Law, to go to the Conventicles of the Jacobites, to hear Sedition taught against our lawful Sovereign in a Cockloft.

* *Author of the Wolf stript. Moderation truly stated. Occasional Conformity an unjustifiable Practice. The Defender of Sir H. M's Treatise on the Occasional Bill seems to be of the same Kidney.*

Thus we see the Dissenters stand acquitted from the Charge of Schism, according to what notion soever it is laid, whether of the Scripture, the Fathers, or Divines. But if it shou'd be resolv'd, notwithstanding all that we have said, that they are Schismaticks, yet they think *they may be good Subjects*, and that they have not lost their Title to a Toleration. A Schismatick can be no Member of the Church, but he may be an useful one in the State. He can't indeed partake of Ecclesiastical Privileges, because he has no Communion with the Church; But why shou'd he be debar'd Civil Ones? For Schism does not necessarily make a Man a seditious Subject: Where it does, let the Sedition be punish'd by the Magistrate. But so long as a Schismatick remains peaceable, he has a Right to a Toleration, as we have prov'd before. Sir H. M. indeed pretends that the Dissenters are dangerous to the State, I suppose because they are Schismaticks: But I shall consider that Question separately by it self in the Second

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Part, and so shall take no notice of it here.

This is what the Dissenters plead for their Occasional Conformity, and their stated Dissent, and the Right they have to an absolute Toleration. But they think 'tis as much the *Interest*, as the Duty of the Government, to grant and maintain it. 'Tis the Interest of the Government, because 'tis its Duty. Duty and Interest, Propriety and Advantage, being as inseparably connected as Virtue and Reward, Vice and Punishment. But it will appear to be more particularly the Interest of the Government, by recapitulating the *Disadvantages* of the contrary Course. For to deprive the Dissenters of any Privilege they now enjoy, and particularly of the Offices which any of them hold at present, or of the capacity they have to enjoy them for the future, is to weaken the Government. For it is to disoblige and discourage sober, industrious, wealthy, frugal Men. It is to deprive the Nation of the readiness of their Loans, and the Benefit of their Informations: 'Tis to rob it of the help and assistance of their Courage in the Camp, and of their skilful experience in our Navys and Fleets. It is to sap it of the Strength it receives from Persons, that are highly serviceable in a prudent discharge of the Commssions of Taxes, Peace and Lieutenancy, in the Bench of Aldermen, Common Council Men and Assistants, in the Courts of Judicature and Offices of State: In a word, of Men that cou'd assist in the making of wise Laws in Parliament, as well as any other of their Fellow-Citizens; and in the execution of 'em out of it.

To cashier such Men as these from all publick Offices and Employments, is not only as Maximus told Valentinian, when he had murder'd Ætius a brave General, with one hand to cut off the other; but with one hand to pro-

Procop.l.1. Vandal.

provoke the other to rebel against the whole: For 'tis not only the way to weaken the Government, but to endanger it. This it will do by tempting Men first to be Discontented and Uneasy; then to spread those Discontents among their Fellow-Citizens; in the next place, to betray us to Foreigners, by revealing the Counsels of the Government, and retarding its Business; till at last a number of these combin'd together, enter into Conspiracys, and don't stop at open Insurrections. Or if breaking in upon the Toleration shou'd not carry Men to that extremity, nor bring things to an open rupture; it might yet have as much worse consequences, by undermining the very Foundation of our Constitution, as a latent Disease is more dangerous than one whose Symptoms break out, and at the same time discover the nature of the Distemper and its Cure. For it will destroy the ballance that there is between the several Partys in England, upon which the Ballance of Power between the three Estates depends. And it is upon the latter, that the framing of good Laws depends and the due execution of them; as the latter does upon the former. Nay, 'tis ruining the very Constitution it self, and at once breaks in upon the Prerogative, the Sovereign has to command any ones service that is capable to serve; and upon the Liberty every Man has to serve; and the Rights the Country has to be serv'd by 'em. In a word, whenever the Power of England shall be put into the hands of one Party, all the Prerogatives of the Crown and the Libertys of the People, will be swallow'd up by it. The Will of that Party must be then instead of the Sovereigns Prerogative, and their Interest must come into the room of the general good of the People: But it will not only ruin us at home but abroad too, by discovering our ill will to the Presbyterians and Occasional Conformists; it will disunite us more from the

the Scots, foment their Jealousys of us at present, and render an Union more impracticable for the future. It will by the same Method beget a Distrust in those of our Allys, who are Presbyterians, of our Will; and by weakning us at home, beget an equal distrust in them of our Power to help them.

And if the Church shou'd promote such a Persecution, it must be at her own expence: For it must wound the State, upon whose Security her Safety depends. She must divide and weaken the Christian and the Protestant Interest by it, both at home and abroad, and ruin the Character of Veracity and Temper she has acquir'd by her Moderation, and the Credit that she has gain'd, by being at present thought to deserve 'em both.

If these Reasons did not prove such a Restraint of useful Men, and such a Persecution of good Christians against our true Interest at all times; yet certainly the present unhappy Circumstances of Affairs wou'd easily convince us 'twas *Unseasonable* at this: A time when all our danger is from a Potent Enemy abroad, who has the Treasures of the Indys to support his Tyranny, and has rob'd us of the Revenue of Trade that might help to secure us from his Ambition; who is unanimous and secret in his Councils, and vigorous in his Enterprizes; whilst we are divided slow and irresolute in ours. Sure all Heads, all Hands, all Purses are few enough to resist this powerful Adversary. Let us learn some of the Methods by which Rome became so great: She naturaliz'd all Strangers, admitted all her Citizens to the highest Honors without distinction, and laid aside all Quarrels and Divisions in times of publick danger, to unite against the common Foe. If the Cocks of the Game will spar it out, let it be after we have secured our selves from the Kite that hovers over our Heads, and aims at destroying us both. And when the State has had

had the assistance of the Dissenters against France, and the Church has call'd in their help against the Atheists, Deists and Socinians, in the Controversys and Disputes depending betwixt 'em; and when she shall, by their assistance, have secur'd our common Religion from their attempts; let her then, if it must be then, bend her Forces against these Enemys of lesser Importance.

If coming at the Truth, or the Mistakes in the Cause of the Protestant Dissenters, as far as it lys in any of these Points, were the *true and sole design* of the Disputants, methinks the present Age might hope to see an end of the Contest. The ready way seems easier and shorter than it has been thought and represented. Direct Answers to the Strength of the Cause it self, rather than the Weakness of its Managers; and to the Management rather than to the Persons or the Party who undertake it, wou'd not take up large Volumes, nor require Replys, Rejoinders and Replications, infinite in Bulk and Number, and equally tedious and impertinent. When the Partys come to manage their Cause in this way, it will no longer be suspected that they serve Interest more than Truth, nor doubted on whose side the Truth lys: But if instead of Arguments we use Charges and Invectives, and instead of Replys, Recriminations, we only dwindle into Satyrists, and by addressing our selves to Mens Passions, give the Standers by too much reason to think, that either we don't know our Cause, or distrust it; and that we rather design to incense one Party and exasperate the other, than to confirm or convince either. Nay if instead of considering the Evidence of the Reasons that are brought, and the consistency of one with another, we compare Principles with Practices, and one Man's Principles with anothers, that happens to be of the same deno-

mination, we may indeed come at the Truth of Facts, but can never arrive to that of Principles. Or if instead of considering all that can be possibly said for a Cause, we only consider what has been said, or what has been the least pertinently said, we are rather parrying to defend our selves than to protect the Truth, or to make a home thrust at Mens Mistakes and Errors; and must appear to the World, more like men fighting a Prize, than contending in good earnest for Opinions of Weight and Importance.

And yet this seems to be the *State* of the *Dispute*, as 'tis generally manag'd at *present*. He that looks into the Pamphlets that swarm against the Dissenters, like the Ægyptian Locusts, and darken the Truth as much as they did the Land, will instead of solid Arguments for constant Conformity, or calm Replys to the Reasons of the Dissenters for stated Nonconformity and an absolute Toleration, find Personal Charges and Invectives, that are either Fictitious, Antiquated or Impertinent. The old Story of forty one, and of the Rye-house Plot, are new vampt and set out to the best Advantage. And the Dissenters are represented as Regicides and Commonwealths-men. And I know not what feign'd Designs are trump'd up of introducing Harringtons Oceana, or the State of Noland; of abolishing Episcopacy, and of setting aside her present Majesty. The moderate Churchmen indeed generally share these Calumnys with the Dissenters. But when they have made the Dissenters, in Association with the moderate Churchmen, Enemys to the Church and the Nation, the next thing is to set the Dissenters at variance with the Dutch and Scots Presbyterians, and among themselves. The Independants are play'd against the Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians of 41 against those of our days, and the Occasional Conformists against the Constant Dissenters. All this may be talk'd of indeed as matter of Fact if we please; and a little pains wou'd shew both the Falsity of the

Wolf stript, p. 21, 22, 33. *Moderation truly stated*, p. 74--78. *Mr. Wesleys defence of a Letter concerning the Educ. of Dissenters*, p. 20--24. 28--40. *Source of present Fears discover'd*, p. 11--18. *Hist. of last Parliam.* Pref. p. 6. *New Association*, *Part I. II.* *Wolf stript*, p. 40--48. 70--72. Ib. p. 77, 78, 79. *Moderation truly stated*, p. 74--77.

the Charge, and the Imprudence of those who make it. For when they are forc'd to break thro all Acts of Oblivion and Indemnity to look into the Story of 41, methinks it's a sign they han't much to say against the Dissenters since: And when they are forc'd to charge 'em with the Crimes, which illegal Proceedings and Persecutions tempted 'em to, and with none but feign'd and pretended ones, since Englishmen have had Liberty, and they a Toleration, it's a Sign that the Crimes are not chargeable upon the Men or the good Usage of 'em, but the Hardships and Persecutions they underwent. And it's a shrewd Hint that the source of Malice and Invective against the English Presbyterians must be pretty near exhausted, when their Adversarys are forc'd to search into the Proceedings of the Scots Presbyterians, to find some fresh matter to accuse 'em of.

De Foe's Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, p. 10, 11, 12. *Sir H. M's Peace at Home*. Ded. p. 2. §. 2. p. 4. Pref. p. 2. §. 2. B. p. 7. §. 1.

In short, these Invectives wou'd make one think, if the Inveteracy of the Men who use 'em wou'd give us leave to do it, that it was nothing but refin'd Banter; and that they design'd a Vindication of the Dissenters, and the Satyr upon some other Folks. For certainly they must needs think that these Charges will put the Dissenters in mind, and provoke them to remind the World, that supposing they had been faulty many years ago, some Men have been guilty of the same or of worse Crimes since: For Treason against a whole Nation surpasses that which is committed against any single Person whatsoever: Selling us to France is a worse Crime than Rebellion, and a Friend to Arbitrary Power more dangerous than a Commonwealths-man. The Principles of passive Obedience are as pernicious as the deposing ones: And 'tis a greater degree of Resistance to question a Prince's Title to the Throne, than his Right to command in a matter of Religion and Conscience. But yet a King who had an undoubted Title to the Crown, was brought to abdicate by other hands than those that

murder'd one: And if Regicides have been sainted, it was not with so much effrontery as Assassins have been absolv'd. Occasional Conformists can't be more dangerous to the Church, than Occasional Subjects must be to the State; nor Nonjurors less prejudicial than Fanatics. And I can't persuade my self, but he that places all his Religion in Ceremonys and Episcopacy, and wou'd even depress the Authority of the Scriptures, to make that of Bishops or Ceremonys stand upon a level with it, is as bad a Christian as he that professes an Aversion or an Indifference to both.

Dissertationes in Iren. Auct. Hen. Dodwell. Diss. 1. §. 43.

But what does all this signify *to the main Cause*, supposing all the Charges true on one side, and all false on the other? Does it follow because the Dissenters were Regicides in forty eight, or remain Commonwealths-men; because they of our time differ in some points from the Dissenters of those, or because they don't agree among themselves; or because that this or that particular Man has committed some slips in managing their Cause, that therefore no Men have a right to separate from the Worship of the Establish'd Church, or to erect Churches of their own, and to return to some parts of the Establish'd Worship on some Occasions; and that the Government has no Obligation, nor Interest to tolerate 'em in all this? Which are the chief Questions in the Dissenting Controversy.

But tho this has been but too generally the Method of managing this Dispute, how absurd soever, and contrary to the true way of managing it, it may upon reflection appear to be, I wou'd be understood to except Mr. *Hoadly* in a great measure out of the Charge. He has studiously sever'd abundance of personal matters from the Controversy; and has shewn the World both by his management of the Controversy it self, and by a later Instance, that he neither wants the Parts nor the Temper that's necessary to bring this Dispute to a fair Issue. He has given a pregnant

A Letter to a Clergy-man in the Country.

nant Instance that he can dispute with the Dissenters without being angry; and that he can write against 'em to convince 'em, and not to expose 'em, since he retains his desires to do 'em service. A truly Christian Temper, and a rare example of Meekness in a Divine; an Order which by some certain Fatality, seems to imitate Moses and Elias in their furious Zeal, breaking the Tables of the Law, and calling for Fire from Heaven to consume their Adversarys, rather than Jesus Christ, the great example of Forgiveness, Love, Gentleness and Forbearance. And since Mr. Hoadly has met with so able and so fair an Adversary, the World may expect some new Light from their Debates. And yet, I wish, so hard is it to lay aside Party and Passion, that Mr. Hoadly wou'd have wrote rather in Defence of the Church than against the Dissenters; and rather against Dissenters than this or that Party of them; and that he wou'd have apply'd himself to have shewn the Inconsistency of Nonconformity, rather than of the Men that don't conform, and have argu'd more 'ad Rem,' and less 'ad Hominem.' For such a way of reasoning can be only informing us of Characters, and not of Things; and the consequence of such Arguments can be no more than this, that the Dissenters are in the wrong, and not that the Principles upon which a Man may dissent are not right; that is to say, it only follows that the Nonconformists ought to Reform, and not that they do ill to Dissent.

However when any other Point in the Dissenting Controversy, shall be as fairly manag'd as those depending between these Antagonists; it may be justly *expected*, that the Dissenters shou'd think of *Replying*, or if they don't, as justly thought, that they can't. Whereas whilst their Antagonists continue to write as they do, it may be fairly suppos'd, that the Dissenters have learnt so

much

much from one that has very lately appear'd against 'em, as to take this Motto.

Sir H. M. Pref. p. 2.

'Didicerunt illi maledicere, nos contemnere.'

And since that Worthy Gentleman has brought several Arguments in vindication of the Occasional Conformity Bill, which seem, for the most part, to be design'd *as real Objections against the Toleration of Dissenters and Occasional Conformists*, rather than as Invectives against the Dissenters and Occasional Conformists themselves: and that both the Noise which the Book has made, and the Character of its Author, all challenge a calm and impartial Consideration; we shall attempt it in the Second Part. But Sir H. must not be angry with me, who wou'd so industriously avoid the mixing of personal matters, that I conceal a Name, which 'tis neither worth his while, nor which can't be of any Advantage to his Cause to know; it being of no Importance who writes, but what is written; unless one had so great a Name, and so many honorable Characters as Sir H. has, to put at the end of a pompous Title-page for the service of the Bookseller, and the Recommendation of the Book: which are Advantages the Author professes, he neither envys Sir H. nor has himself.

FINIS.

A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about London, *from the unjust Aspersions cast upon their former Actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the* King *to Capital Punishment.*

IT cannot be unknown how much we, and other Ministers of this City and Kingdom, that faithfully adher'd to the Parliament, have injuriously smarted under the scourge of evil Tongues and Pens, ever since the first eruption of the unhappy Differences and unnatural War between the King and Parliament, for our Obedience to the Commands and Orders of the Honourable Houses, in their Contests with his Majesty, and Conflicts with his Armys.

We are not ignorant of the over-busy Intermedlings of Prelates and their Party heretofore, in over-ruling Civil Affairs, to the great endangering of Kingdoms, and of this in particular, when private Interests, ambitious Designs, Revenge, or other sinister Ends, engaged them beyond their Sphere. Howbeit, it cannot reasonably (as we conceive) be denied, that Ministers, as *Subjects*, being bound to obey the Laws and to preserve the Liberties of the Kingdom, and having an Interest in them and the Happiness of them, as well as others, may and ought

(without incurring the just censure due to Busy-bodies and Incendiaries) to appear, for preserving the Laws and Liberties of that Commonwealth whereof they are Members, especially in our case, when it was declared by the Parliament, that all was at stake, and in danger to be lost. No, nor as *Ministers* ought they to hold their peace, in a time wherein the Sins of Rulers and Magistrates, as well as others, have so far provoked God, as to kindle the fire of his Wrath against his People. And yet, for this alone, the faithful Servants of God, have in all Ages, thro the Malice of Satan and his Instruments, been traduced as Arch-Incendiaries, when only their Accusers are indeed guilty of both laying the train, and of putting fire to it, to blow up a Kingdom.

An *Ahab* and his Sycophants think none so fit to bear the Odium of being the grand *Troubler of Israel*, as *Elijah*. Thus, the Popish Device was, to charge the *Gunpowder Treason* (had it taken effect) upon the *Puritans :* And if you believe *Tertullus*, even a *Paul* is a *pestilent Fellow*, *a Mover of Sedition throughout the World*, a *Ringleader* of a *Sect*, and what not, but what he is. Yea, *Christ* himself (tho a Friend to Monarchy, even of Heathenish *Rome*) is proclaimed *an Enemy to Cæsar*, to open a way to his Destruction, by their Malice, who never cared for the Interest of *Cæsar*.

Wherefore, altho *with us*, who have had experience of like usage, *it be a small thing to be* thus *judged of men*, when we regard only our own particular Persons: For, *if they call the Master of the House Beelzebub, how much more those of his Houshold?* Yet when we consider how much it concerns the Honour of our Master, and the good of all, to preserve our Ministerial Function immaculate (our good Names being, in that relation, as needful to others, as a good Conscience to our selves) we dare not but stand by and assert the Integrity of our Hearts, and the

the Innocency of all our Actings (in reference to the King and Kingdom) for which we are ſo much calumniated and traduced.

This we are compel'd to at this time, becauſe there are many who very confidently (yet moſt unjuſtly) charge us to have been formerly inſtrumental toward the taking away the Life of the King: And becauſe alſo there are others, who in their ſcurrilous Paſquils and Libels (as well as with their virulent Tongues) repreſent us to the World as a *bloody ſeditious Sect, and traiterous Obſtructors of what all the godly People of the Kingdom do earneſtly deſire for eſtabliſhing of Religion and Peace*, in that we ſtick at the *Execution* of the King, while yet we are (as they falſly affirm) content to have him *convicted* and *condemned*. All which we muſt, and do from our hearts diſclaim, before the whole world.

For when we did firſt engage with the Parliament, (which we did not till called thereunto) we did it with loyal Hearts and Affection towards the King and his Poſterity; not intending the leaſt hurt to his Perſon, but to ſtop his Party from doing further hurt to the Kingdom; not to bring his Majeſty to Juſtice (as ſome now ſpeak) but to put him into a better capacity to do Juſtice: *To remove the Wicked from before him, that his Throne might be eſtabliſh'd in Righteouſneſs*; not to dethrone and deſtroy him, which (we much fear) is the ready way to the Deſtruction of all his Kingdoms.

That which put any of us on at firſt to appear for the Parliament was, *The Propoſitions and Orders of the Lords and Commons in Parliament* (June 10. 1642.) for bringing in of Mony and Plate, *&c.* wherein they aſſured us that whatſoever ſhould be brought in thereupon, ſhould not be at all employed upon any other occaſion, than to maintain *the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Authority, his Perſon and his Royal Dignity, the free courſe of Juſtice, the Laws*

of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, against any Force which ſhall oppoſe them.

And in this we were daily confirmed and encouraged more and more by their many ſubſequent Declarations and Proteſtations, which we held our ſelves bound to believe, knowing many of them to be godly and conſcientious Men, of publick Spirits, zealouſly promoting the common good, and labouring to free this Kingdom from Tyranny and Slavery, which ſome evil Inſtruments about the King endeavour'd to bring upon the Nation.

As for the preſent Actings at *Weſtminſter*, ſince the time that ſo many of the Members were by force ſecluded, divers impriſoned, and others thereupon withdrew from the Houſe of Commons (and there not being that Conjunction of the two Houſes as heretofore) we are wholly unſatisfied therein, becauſe we conceive them to be ſo far from being warranted by ſufficient Authority, as that in our apprehenſions they tend to an actual Alteration (if not Subverſion) of that which the Honourable *Houſe of Commons*, in their *Declaration* of *April* 17. 1646. have taught us to call *the Fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom*, which they therein aſſure us (if we underſtand them) they would never alter.

Yea, we hold our ſelves bound in duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profeſs before God, Angels and Men, that we verily believe that which is ſo much feared to be now in agitation, **the taking away the Life of the King**, in the preſent way of Trial, is, not only not agreeable to any Word of God, the Principles of the Proteſtant Religion (never yet ſtained with the leaſt drop of Blood of a King) or the fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom; but contrary to them, as alſo to the *Oath of Allegiance*, the *Proteſtation* of *May* 5. 1641. and the *Solemn League and Covenant*: from all or any of which Engagements, we know

know not any Power on Earth, able to abſolve us or others.

In which laſt, we have ſworn (**with hands lifted up to the moſt high God**) *That we ſhall with ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy, in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve and defend the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, in the defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms: That the world may bear witneſs with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt power and greatneſs.*

And we are further tied by another Article of the ſame **Covenant**; *Not to ſuffer our ſelves, directly or indirectly, by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion or terror, to be divided or withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary party, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable indifferency or neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerns the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and honour of the King: but ſhall all the days of our lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our power, againſt all lets and impediments whatſoever.* And this we have not only taken our ſelves, but moſt of us have by command of the Parliament adminiſtred it to others, whom we have thereby drawn in to be as deep as our ſelves in this publick Engagement.

Therefore, according to that our **Covenant**, we do in the Name of the Great God (to whom all muſt give a ſtrict account) warn and exhort all who either more immediately belong to our reſpective Charges, or any way depend on our Miniſtry, or to whom we have adminiſtred the ſaid **Covenant** (that we may not by our ſilence ſuffer them to run upon that highly provoking ſin of Perjury) to keep cloſe to the ways of God, and the rules of Religion, the Laws, and their Vows, in their conſtant maintaining the true Reformed Religion, the fundamental Conſtitution and Government

of

of this Kingdom, (not ſuffering themſelves to be ſeduced from it, by being drawn in to ſubſcribe the late Models, or *Agreement of the People* *, which directly tends to the utter ſubverſion of the whole frame of the fundamental Government of the Land, and makes way for an univerſal toleration of all Hereſies and Blaſphemies, directly contrary to our **Covenant**, if they can but get their Abettors to cover them under a falſe guiſe of *the Chriſtian Religion)* as alſo in preſerving the Privileges of both Houſes of Parliament, and the Union between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*; to mourn bitterly for their own ſins, the ſins of the City, Army, Parliament, and Kingdom, and the woful miſcarriages of the King himſelf (which we cannot but acknowledg to be many and very great) in his Government, that have coſt the three Kingdoms ſo dear, and caſt him down from his Excellency into an horrid pit of miſery, almoſt beyond Example: And to pray that God would both give him effectual Repentance, and ſanctify that bitter Cup of Divine Diſpleaſure, that the Divine Providence hath put into his hand; as alſo that God would reſtrain the violence of men, **that they may not dare to draw upon themſelves and the Kingdom, the blood of their Sovereign.**

* Declared by both *Houſes*, (for the ſubſtance of it) to be *Deſtructive to the being of Parliaments, and to the fundamental Government of the Kingdom*, in *Decemb.* 1647. yea, condemned heretofore by the *General*, and his *Council of War*, and one of the Soldiers ſhot to death for promoting it.

And now, we have good reaſon to expect that they who brought us under ſuch a bond, and thereby led us into the neceſſity of this preſent **Vindication** and Manifeſtation of our Judgments and Diſcharge of our Conſciences, ſhould defend us in it. However, we reſolve rather to be of their number that tremble at his *Terrors* who is a *conſuming fire*, and will not fail to *avenge the quarrel of his Covenant*, upon all that contemn it, than to be found among thoſe who *deſpiſe the Oath by breaking his Covenant* (**after lifting up the hand**) altho it had been made but in Civil things only, and that with the worſt of Men.

Lev. 26. Ezek. 17. 2 Sam. 21.

C. Burges,

C. Burges, D. D. Preacher of the Word in *Paul's Lond.*
Will. Gouge, D. D. Paſtor of *Black-Fryars.*
Edm. Stanton, D. D. Paſtor of *Kingston.*
Tho. Temple, D. D. Paſtor of *Batterſey.*
Geo. Walker, Paſtor of *John Evang.*
Edm. Calamy, Paſtor of *Aldermanbury.*
Jer. Whitaker, Paſtor of *Magd. Bermunſey.*
Dan. Cawdrey, Miniſter of *Martins* in the *Fields.*
William Spurſtow, Miniſter of *Hackney.*
La. Seaman, Paſtor of *Alh. Breadſtreet.*
Simeon Aſhe, Miniſter of *Michael Baſingſhaw.*
Thomas Caſe, Miniſter of *Magd. Milkſtreet.*
Nich. Proffet, Miniſter of *Foſters.*
Thomas Thorowgood, Miniſter of *Crayford.*
Edward Corbet, Miniſter of *Croyden.*
Henry Roborough, Paſtor of *Leonards East-Cheap.*
Arthur Jackſon, Paſtor of *Michaels Woodſtreet.*
Ja. Nalton, Paſtor of *Leonards Foſterlane.*
Thomas Cawton, Paſtor of *Bartholomew Exchange.*
Charles Offspring, Paſtor of *Antholins.*
Sa. Clark, Miniſter of *Bennet Fynk.*
Jo. Wall, Miniſter of *Michael Cornhill.*
Fran. Roberts, Paſtor of the Church at *Auſtins.*
Mat. Haviland, Paſtor of *Trinity.*
John Sheffield, Miniſter of *Swithins.*
William Harriſon, Miniſter of *Gracechurch.*
William Jenkyn, Miniſter of *Christchurch.*
John Viner, Paſtor of *Botolph Aldgate.*
Elidad Blackwel Paſtor of *Andrew Underſhaft.*
John Croſſe Miniſter at *Matthews Fridaystreet.*
John Fuller Miniſter at *Buttolph Biſhopſgate.*
William Taylor Paſtor of *Stephens Colemanſtreet.*
Peter Witham Paſtor of *Albans Woodstreet.*
Fran. Peck Paſtor of *Nich. Acorne.*
Christopher Love Paſtor of *Anne Alderſgate.*

John Wallis Minister of *Martin Ironmonger-lane.*
Tho. Watson Pastor of *Stephens Walbrook,*
Tho. Bedford Pastor of *Martins Outwich.*
William Wickins Pastor of *Andrew Hubbard.*
Tho. Manton Minister of *Stoke Newington.*
Thomas Gouge Pastor of *Sepulchers.*
William Blackmore Pastor of *Peters Cornhil.*
Robert Mercer Minister of *Brides.*
Ra. Robinson Pastor of *Mary Woolnoth.*
John Glascock Minister at *Undershaft.*
Thomas Whately Minister at *Mary Wool-Church.*
Jonathan Lloyde Pastor of *James Garlick-Hithe.*
John Wells Pastor of *Olaves Jury.*
Benjamin Needler Pastor of *Margaret Moses.*
Nath. Staniforth Minister of *Mary Bothaw.*
Stephen Watkins Minister of *Mary Overies.*
Jacob Tice Pastor of *Botolph Billingsgate.*
John Stileman Minister at *Rotherhithe.*
Josias Bull Pastor of *North Cray.*
Jonathan Devereux late Minster at *Andrews Holborn.*
Paul Russel Preacher at *Hackney.*
Josuah Kirby Minister of the Word.
Arthur Barham Pastor at *Helens.*

FINIS.

A POSTSCRIPT

In Vindication of

Two Passages

In the First Part of

The Rights of Protestant Dissenters:

In Answer to

A POSTSCRIPT to a Second Letter to the Author of the *Three Letters for Toleration*, from the Author of the Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration, briefly consider'd and answer'd, and of the Defence of it.



LONDON;

Printed in the Year M. DCC. V.

A POSTSCRIPT, *being a Vindication of* Two *Passages in* the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters: *In anſwer to a* POSTSCRIPT *to a ſecond Letter to the Author of the* three Letters for Toleration, *from the Author of the Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration, briefly conſider'd and anſwer'd, and of the Defence of it.*

HE who writes for a Toleration, muſt neither be angry nor ſurpriz'd, that others make their Remarks as freely and as publickly upon what he has ſaid for it, as he did his upon what others have ſaid againſt it. And tho any Objections are very welcome to our Author, which will but help him to the Truth, or give him an Opportunity to clear it to others; yet he muſt needs own, he was a little *ſtartl'd* at the way and manner in which they were made by the Author of this Poſtſcript.

He was ſurpriz'd to ſee any notice taken of 'the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters,' at the end of a very *ſhort Anſwer* to the 'third Letter for Toleration.' In which, every thing had been very largely and accurately anſwer'd, that the Author of the Poſtſcript had craftily urg'd, in 'the Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration, briefly conſider'd and anſwer'd, and in the Defence of it;' againſt an Abſolute and Impartial Toleration, and in behalf of his own Scheme of Perſecution. A Letter which the World thought deſerv'd another Anſwer, than 'a brief Specimen of its Anſwerableneſs,' as the ſecond Letter is pleas'd to call it; and to another end, than to convince the World, that 'the Character of the Clergy' had done him a great deal of Injury, in aſſuring us, as it ſeems without any manner of ground for it, that upon farther Reflection, he had put on more Humanity and good Nature than he cou'd formerly be accus'd of. Since he was reſolv'd to ſpend but three Sheets in anſwering fifty, wherein the moſt critical Reader will hardly find a Line that is not clear, cogent, and to the purpoſe, he might very well have allow'd this ſmall Pittance to that incomparable Letter, without waſting any part of it upon 'the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters.' That Letter, I may venture to aſſure him, has made ſuch deep Impreſſions, that till he can ſucceed in helping the World to wear 'em out, better than he has, in this laſt Attempt, to get rid of any of 'em, he might in the Opinion of very judicious Perſons, have quietly lain under the Report of 'the Character of the Clergy,' without having done himſelf any Injury.

A ſecond Letter to the Author of the 3 Letters for Toleration, &c. p. 1, 2.

Our Author was yet the more startl'd to find himself attack'd by one, that seems very desirous to be thought *shy of Controversy*. When our Author found him (like a Man quite tir'd of Writing) end his Letter, by telling the Author of 'the third Letter for Toleration,' that 'he can spend his time better than in unravelling Cobwebs, and 'detecting Sophistry,' tho he had only endeavour'd to unravel a very small part of the Web that judicious Author had spun: Our Author was not a little surpriz'd to find him immediately vouchsafing to unravel some Threds of a new one. If he had had another hour to have flung away upon things of so little Consequence, it had certainly been better employ'd in unravelling a Cobweb, which had caught a great many well-meaning People, that want his Assistance to disentangle 'em; and which was said to have caught as wise an Animal as himself; than in entring upon one, which was not upon any account so likely, either to ensnare others, or to give Occasion for raising a Report so groundless and injurious to him.

A second Letter, p. p. 19.

Our Author was yet most of all surpriz'd, to find the notice that was taken of 'the Rights of Protestant Dissenters,' *address'd* to the Author of 'the three Letters for Toleration;' who is no ways concern'd, nor can't be any ways affected by it; nor ought in any Propriety to have been troubl'd with its Absurditys, tho they were as great as the Postscript wou'd make 'em. Two of those three Letters were written for an Universal and Absolute Toleration of Mankind, against the Scheme of a Man of Speculation, and of the Schools. 'The Rights of Protestant Dissenters' was written against the Scheme of a Statesman and a Man of Business, and pleads no other ways for an Universal and Absolute Toleration, than as it serves to strengthen the Plea for the Universal and Absolute Toleration of Protestant Dissenters. So that the Author of 'the three 'Letters for Toleration' wrote against a different Plan of Persecution, manag'd by a different Hand, and with another View than the Author of 'the Rights of Protestant Dissenters:' And therefore no Faults in his arguing against the Scheme he opposes, can any ways affect a Man, that writes to a different purpose against another.

Indeed the Postscript is pleas'd to call our Author a *Disciple* of the Author of 'the three Letters for Toleration'; and 'tis not unlikely, that it was this suppos'd Relation that rais'd his Spleen, and provok'd him to draw his Pen against our Author, in hopes to wound that extraordinary Person thro his sides. Indeed the Writer of the Postscript must think a Man very little acquainted with Books, that shou'd not have met with those incomparable Letters, which have been so much the Entertainment and Conversation of thinking Men. And he must suppose him less a Judg of 'em, who when he writes upon that Subject, shou'd not take a great many Notions from them

and perhaps the Occasion of most, that have occur'd to him upon that Head. That Author's Thoughts appear to be too accurate and comprehensive, to miss any thing considerable, that ought to be said upon the Subject, or to leave much room for Alterations. And if by calling our Author his Disciple, he means no more, than that he argues from such Principles, as our Author believes to be the general Principles of Toleration, laid down in those Letters, and that he accommodates 'em to the Case of the Occasional Conformists, when he talks about a Toleration; 'tis a Character he has own'd to the World already, and which he thanks the Writer of the Postscript for, and is proud of. *The Rights of Protestant Dissenters Part 1. Pref. p. 20.*

But then 'tis Truth he learns and submits to, and not to the Opinions of 'the Letters for Toleration'. And that the Writer of the Postscript may be satisfy'd of this, our Author assures him, he will as willingly learn any Truth from the Letters against Toleration, as from the Letters that were written for it: And he must desire the Writer of the Postscript to be assur'd, that in every case, as well as in this, he submits his Understanding to nothing but *Truth*, and calls no Man Teacher, but him, that came from God, and is the Truth it self. To submit it to any one else, may probably be a Homage, which the Writer of the Postscript pays to 'his Aristotle', and which he has taught some others possibly to pay to him: But which our Author thinks an Usurpation of the Authority of that great Prophet, for any body to challenge, and assume; and too abject a piece of Slavery for a Man to submit to, upon any Terms whatsoever. *A second Letter, p. 11.*

And if this be his notion of our Author's Discipleship, as one wou'd think it is, by the Definition he seems to give of it, when he says, 'How blindly soever he may have submitted his Understanding to 'the Conduct of the Author of the three Letters for Toleration; as I told him just before, that he mistook the Scholar, so I must remind him now, that he as much mistakes the *Master*. For the Master is not capable of such a Scholar, no more than the Scholar cou'd bear such a Master. And Blindness will be but an odd Qualification of any one, that is to receive the Opinions laid down in those Letters, which can only be seen by the Evidence and Light of Truth. The admirable Author of 'em dictates nothing, and commands our belief of nothing; but brings Evidence for what he asserts, and then appeals to the Reason of his Reader, as his Judg. And none can receive his Evidence whose Prepossessions have stop'd his Ears, and have shut out those Arguments, which are to make their own way, and command the Readers assent. If they can't do it, he wou'd not have him yield it, tho he were to gain the World by the Bargain. And indeed he not only dissuades Men from giving up their Understanding to any thing but just Convictions; but has done more to prevent their submitting it to any thing else, and to prevent their being forc'd to pretend and profess to submit it when they really don't, than his and our Author's Adversary will ever be *Ib. p. 24.*

able

able to overthrow, notwithstanding all his Efforts to deprive 'em of this Instance of their Freedom, which is as infinitely preferable to all others, as the Concerns of the next Life are to this, and to introduce the worst of Slavery in its Room. A State in which he supposes our Author to be, and in which he wishes he may be forc'd to continue, only with this Circumstance, which must make his Chains the heavier, that he may not have the Liberty, when he quits Reason, to chuse his own Master. 'Tis but therefore a put-on-Anger of the Writer of the Postscript, when he reproaches him for submitting his Understanding blindly to another; for that this Writer pleads for, and can't be displeas'd with. All that incenses him must be, that our Author has not blindly submitted it to a Guide, that he approves of.

I hope I shall be pardon'd for a little Digression, if I take notice upon this Occasion, that this is not the only Instance, in which this Writer seems to have given his own Character, when he pretends to give that of our Author. Possibly he wou'd be willingly thought the Patron of those that set up for plaguing other Men; and deserves the Post, for ought I know, as well as any body that wou'd put in for it. It would be as much below a Patron, to oppose any thing less than a Patron, as it wou'd be below a Don Quixot, to fight with any thing under a Knight. The Author of the Postscript being perhaps, desirous to be taken for the Patron of those who wou'd force all Men to conform, must needs make his Adversary 'the *Patron* of 'those that dissent'. I know of no other Reason, that cou'd induce him to bestow this Title upon our Author, if by it he wou'd give the World to understand, that our Author is not only the Patron of a Cause, but of a Party. Whereas, as he is far from thinking himself to deserve this Title in the first Sense; so he detests it in the latter. If he has pleaded the Cause of the Dissenters, 'tis as they are honest Men, and good Christians, whom others wou'd oppress and injure: But he wou'd become the Patron of Churchmen, or of any others, cou'd they be suppos'd to want his Patronage, or were he capable of giving it, as they come under any of these Considerations: And he'l be far from endeavouring to plead the Cause of the Dissenters, as they come under any other. He owes his best Endeavours to protect all honest and injur'd Men, by the Law of Nature; and he owes as much to all Christians, by the Law of Faith: But he never link'd himself to any Community of Men, but under one of these Notions. If any Communitys come under any other, and are united in any design, but the enjoying and protecting the Rights of Humanity, and the Christian Religion, they become Partys and Confederacys, which he declares to all the World he has nothing to do with. Nay he wou'd be so far from serving any of their little base Interests, that he owns, he longs for nothing more, than to see 'em all destroy'd. For he

A second Letter, p. 24.

he thinks their Interest to be as opposite to the Interest of Societys of honest Men, and good Christians, as the Spirit of Christ is to that of Antichrist.

But to return: Tho this suppos'd Relation between the Author of 'the three Letters for Toleration' and 'the Rights of Protestant 'Dissenters,' could not well raise the Writer of the Postscript's Choler, unless it happen'd to be near boiling over, yet this seems to have been the Case. The Author of those Letters deserv'd a Grudg for writing such, as admitted of no Answer but a 'Specimen of their 'Answerableness'; and for laying down Principles, that would serve to patronize those pernicious hated Men, the worst of all Dissenters, the Occasional Conformists, when apply'd to their Case. Such Usage as this one must own was enough to raise his Spleen, and possibly it was thought more proper to vent it upon our Author, than upon the other. Perhaps 'the Rights of Protestant Dissenters' was found to ly a little more open than the Letters which incens'd him. And the Author of the Postscript, like an angry Man, finding those that rais'd his Passion out of his reach, strikes him that is next him. His Anger seems entirely to have got the better of him; and like a Man wild with Rage and Fury, he flings about him without any Restraint or Aim. He wou'd insinuate, that those incomparable Letters, which are very full of a most Christian Spirit, wou'd have engag'd our Author in the most *Impious Enterprize* imaginable, if he wou'd have given up himself to their Instructions. For he says, 'How blindly soever our 'Author may have submitted his Understanding to the others Con- 'duct, He supposes our Author will not undertake to shew, 'that it is one of the Privileges (or Rights) of those Saints to af- 'front, insult and outrage the great God of Heaven and Earth, to 'qualify themselves for Places of Power and Profit.' How he came, among all the despicable Thoughts he entertains of our Author, to think his blindness not so great, as to suffer him to follow any Leader into such Bogs and Precipices as these, I know not. Nor how he came to blend this Charity for him, with a most unaccountable Insinuation against the Author of 'the three Letters for Toleration'; whose Conduct, he thinks, wou'd have led our Author into 'em, for the sake of these Saints, if he had given up himself entirely to that Author's Guidance. But it seems to be a Rant, into which the Writer of the Postscript had wound up himself, and in which he expires, and therefore won't bear too nice an Examination. Our Author can't in the mean while forbear to say, that if his Mismanagements or Misapplications of any of the generous Principles laid down in those Letters, may have drawn this unhandsom Usage upon their Author, he is heartily sorry for it: Or if he has had this unjust notice taken of him, only upon the account of those three Letters, he's so far from pitying himself, that he would willingly endure much worse Usage for a fourth.

A second Letter, p. 24.

But

But they will perhaps be the more ready to believe, that 'tis the latter of these Reasons that gave occasion to this Postscript, who consider, upon what account the Author of it falls upon the 'Rights of Protestant 'Dissenters': 'Tis *for two Passages*. One wou'd think then they were Passages, upon which the whole Controversy about tolerating Occasional Conformity depended; since that Author has broke in upon so many Rules of Propriety, and his own Inclinations to make his Remarks upon 'em. But if we will take a short view of the Controversy, we shall see that both his Remarks are so trifling, that if they were just, they cou'd not any ways prejudice the Cause of Occasional Conformity; nor cou'd reach any farther than to expose our Author's Management of it. He wrote with a design to defend the Toleration of Occasional Conformists. To clear his way, he acts the Historian, and gives an account of what he takes to be the Principles of the Dissenters Stated Dissent and Occasional Conformity. He then endeavours to prove, that whether the Reasons which the Occasional Conformists bring to defend their Practice, be just or no, they have a Right to a Toleration, and that 'tis the Interest of the Government to maintain it; and answers several Exceptions that may be made to their Plea for it, supposing the Occasional Conformists to be mistaken. It seems it appears to the Writer of the Postscript, that the Reasons of the Dissenters Stated Dissent and Occasional Conformity *are not consistent*, as they are laid down in 'the Rights of Protestant Dissenters.' Well, what if they are not? If the Author of the Postscript wrote the 'Republique des Lettres,' or 'the History of the Works of the Learned,' and wou'd make his History stoop so low, as to give the Character of 'the Rights of Protestant Dissenters,' he might have said, that one part of it was inconsistent with another. But will he, who knows so well the true worth of Time, take the pains to shew the Inconsistencys of every Pamphlet in every Letter he writes?

A second Letter, p. 22,23,24.

But it seems, besides this Absurdity, our Author is guilty of another. He makes two Replys to an Exception, which Sir H. M. may be suppos'd to bring against our Author's Plea for the Toleration of Occasional Conformists. Each of these Answers is a sufficient Reply to the Exception, and is independent upon the other. But it shou'd seem that one of these Answers contains an *inconsequent* Conclusion. Well if it does, is this worth the Writer of the Postscript's while, to trouble himself, and the Author of the 'three Letters for Toleration' withal? Is any valuable purpose serv'd by it? Is any considerable Truth clear'd by it? Or does it follow that the Occasional Conformists ought not to be tolerated? That Question sure can't be in the least affected by either of these Criticisms, tho both of 'em were well grounded. And if he only design'd them as a Reflection upon the 'Rights of Protestant Dissenters,' methinks it discovers a great deal of fondness of Controversy, for a Man, that in another Instance is

as desirous to avoid it; and one wou'd think, he had no other way to employ his time, whatever price he may seem to put upon it, than to 'unravel Cobwebs, and detect Sophistry.

If he thought by this means to beget a *Prejudice* against the 'Rights 'of Protestant Dissenters,' and like an over-officious Physician, to prescribe an Antidote of little Virtue to expel a Poison, which 'twas his Interest to exclaim against as Mortal, tho 'twas not worth the taking notice of, that so his Antidote might be thought the more necessary, he seems to have made but a very ill Judgment of the matter. For as any one that understood the Weakness of the Antidote, wou'd presently conclude that the Poison was not so strong as was pretended; so it will be no very unnatural Conclusion, that 'the Rights of Pro'testant Dissenters' has something else besides Inconsequences and Contradictions, since a Man so desirous to find out its Faults, and to publish 'em to the World, has taken notice but of two.

The Criticisms he makes upon 'em at the same time, not being such as will help us at all in our main Enquiry; they had not receiv'd this Answer, and much less so large an one, if our Author had not thought it proper, that this *Justice* shou'd be done to the Author of 'the 'Letters for Toleration,' rather than to himself: And if the Bookseller had not given so fair an *Opportunity* for discharging this just Debt to that great Man's memory, by giving our Author notice of a second Edition, and desiring him, that any Additions or Amendments might be prepar'd, which were design'd for that Impression.

The first Passage the Postscript is pleas'd to take notice of, is one quoted from the 51st page of 'the Rights of Protestant Dissen'ters,' viz. 'If Deprivations and Incapacitys wou'd dispose the Dis'senters to be convinc'd, and were proper to that end, then all the 'Penal Laws are much more so, and ought to stand in full force a'gainst 'em: For if Hardships are proper to that end, the greater 'they are, the more likely are they to be effectual.' This Passage contains two Propositions, the former of them is founded on the latter, which is this general one, 'That if Hardships are proper to dispose 'the Dissenters to be convinc'd, the greater they are, the more likely 'are they to be effectual': which the Postscript says is no just Consequence. Now it were easy to confirm the Truth and Consequence of this general Proposition, from the general *Notions of Means and Ends*; and particularly from this Axiom, upon which this Proposition is founded, and which will easily appear to hold constantly true, to any one, who duly considers the Relation that Ends and Means bear to one another: 'That whatsoever Means have a 'proper Causality for attaining any End, the more of the Efficacy 'of those Means is exerted, the more compleatly will the End be at'tain'd.' Thus Faith giving us the Victory over the World, the stronger our Faith is, the greater will be the Victory: And Pati-

ence giving us the possession of our Souls, the more Patience we have the more undisturb'd will be our Possession. And upon the same account, Hardships being suppos'd to be proper to dispose the Dissenters for Conviction, the greater they are, the stronger will be their Convictions; or in other words, the more likely are they to be effectual.

But not to pursue metaphysical and abstracted Thoughts any farther for the proof of this Proposition; let us consult *Experience*, which in a matter of this Nature is chiefly to be regarded. That informs us, that the Dissenters are now actually depriv'd of a great many of the Places of Honor and Profit, which they have sometimes held. And as our Author says, 'their Distance from the Church has nothing attending it but Reproach and Difficulty, besides the Satisfaction of their own Mind; for by it they are precluded in a manner from Usefulness, Honour and Preferment.' Has this convinc'd them who are depriv'd of their Places, or has it dispos'd 'em for Conviction? Farther, are not those Dissenters who can't conform upon any Occasion, incapacitated for all Places, by the Corporation and Test Acts? But have these Deprivations and Incapacitys dispos'd them for Conviction? Nay, have they not stood the severer Persecutions of some late Reigns, rais'd upon them by virtue of all the Penal Laws, some of which banish'd 'em their Habitations, others their Country; some took away their Estates, and all of them struck at their Reputation? But did all these Hardships dispose 'em at all for Conviction? If they han't, then either Hardships are not proper to dispose 'em to be convinc'd: Or if they are, they must be greater Hardships than any they have yet lain under. And then I think Experience sufficiently confirms the Truth of this Proposition, that if Hardships are proper to dispose the Dissenters to be convinc'd, the greater they are, the more likely are they to be effectual.

Rights of Protestant Dissenters, p. 53.

But whether this Proposition were true or no consider'd in it self, yet it will appear to be true, according to Sir H.M's *Scheme*, which was the Scheme that the 'Rights of Protestant Dissenters' oppos'd. That Scheme stands thus. The Dissenters are to be dispos'd to be convinc'd by a Bill, which is to deal with them in a way that is somewhat different from Love and Kindness, and the gentle Methods of Reason, Arguments and a good Example. This way of dealing with 'em may, I think, be fairly comprehended under the general Term of Hardships. These Hardships are, according to Sir H. either to convince the Dissenters, or to dispose 'em to be convinc'd. He does not know well which of these two 'tis to do. An Uncertainty, which tho he is often guilty of, one wou'd think he cou'd hardly have fallen into here; since 'tis pretty odd to imagin, that what was proper to convince the Dissenters, shou'd be thought proper to dispose 'em for Conviction. He does not tell us how these Hardships are to convince; but

but he thinks they may dispose the Dissenters for Conviction, by making 'em wish for a Reconciliation with the Church, and in consequence of those Wishes, to enquire into its Nature and Excellency, till they are not occasionally, but totally and uninterruptedly reconcil'd to it. That is to say, when the Scheme is freed from its Ambiguity and Circumlocution, and put into plain English, that the Dissenters are by Hardships to be brought to conform to the Polity, Ceremonys, and Discipline of the Establish'd Church. That this is his Scheme appears from his Preface. I shan't stand to prove it to be his Scheme here, that being done to our hand. However, that I might not do this Scheme any Injustice, I have endeavour'd, in laying its parts together, to keep as close to Sir H's Expressions as I cou'd. Now our Author writing against Hardships that are to operate in this manner, might justly say, the greater they were the more likely were they to be effectual; since it is certain, that the greater the Hardships are, till they come to such a degree as wou'd prevent the Dissenters Wishes and Enquirys or so much as their outward Conformity, the more earnestly must they make the Dissenters wish for a Reconciliation with the Church; and must consequently, according to this Scheme, put them upon narrower Enquirys into its Nature and Excellencys, and so dispose them the more effectually for Conviction.

Rights of Protestant Dissenters, p. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56.

Thus greater Hardships appear more likely to be effectual towards begetting a Disposition in the Dissenters to be convinc'd than lesser ones, according to Sir H's pretended Scheme; but they will yet appear more likely to be effectual according to his *real* one, which the pretended one does but disguise and cover. For greater Hardships have, without all question, a greater tendency in their own Nature, to make Men outwardly conform to the Polity, Ceremonys and Discipline of the Establish'd Church, than lesser ones: Because they beget a greater Uneasiness, and consequently a greater desire to get rid of it. And outward Conformity being the way to get rid of that Uneasiness, greater Hardships have a greater tendency in their own Nature, to make the Dissenters outwardly conform, than lesser ones.

Thus the Truth of this Proposition appears to follow so plainly from Sir H's Scheme, supposing it to be just, that if the Writer of the Postscript had not been *afraid*, that his own Scheme of Persecution had been attack'd, I think how desirous soever he might be to fall upon our Author, he wou'd never have done it for the want of Connexion between the Parts of this Proposition. Whereas if the Writer of the Postscript had not been too fond and full of his own Scheme, he must needs have seen that Sir H's differs from his, and that therefore it could not be his that was here oppos'd. For Sir H. like a Gentleman of more Candor and less Art, has told us, that his Scheme is to make the Dissenters uneasy, that so they may wish for a Recon-

ciliation with the Church; and from thence be brought to enquire into its Excellency in order to be reconcil'd to it: And has given us a very fair hint, that he means nothing more by all this, than to puniſh Diſſenters to make 'em conform. From whence it follows by a very near Connexion, that the heavier the Penaltys, the more likely are they to attain their end. And therefore our Author thought no Argument more proper to ſhew that theſe Deprivations and Incapacitys ought not to be brought upon the Diſſenters in order to diſpoſe them for Conviction, than to ſhew, that if the Diſſenters ought to be thus depriv'd and incapacitated for that end, this Conſequence wou'd follow from it, that all the penal Laws ought to ſtand in full Force againſt them: Becauſe that if Hardſhips were proper to that end, then the greater they were the more likely were they to be effectual. Our Author thought this Conſequence wou'd be a ſufficient abſurdity to load this Scheme with, and cou'd not fail to ſink its Credit, now that the Toleration is become a fundamental Maxim of our Government, and an eſſential part of the Conſtitution.

But the Writer of the Poſtſcript, like a more wary Man, has run into thicker Cover, that he might hide himſelf the better, and give his Adverſary the more trouble to beat him out. His Scheme, when 'tis put the faireſt, ſtands thus. Moderate Penaltys are to be inflicted upon Diſſenters, to put 'em upon enquiry into the nature of the Church, and of their Diſſent from it, and to make 'em lay aſide the Prejudices, which wou'd render their Enquirys uſeleſs; and ſo Puniſhments are thus indirectly and at a diſtance to bring men to Conform. Now tho this Scheme will upon a little Conſideration appear to be the ſame with the other, as 'the Letters for Toleration' have plainly prov'd; yet it muſt be firſt made to appear to be the ſame by a train of Conſequences, before it can be juſtly loaded with the ſame Abſurdity, which 'the 'Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters' has prov'd to follow from the other. So that if this Paſſage had been brought in the very ſame manner, againſt the Scheme which the Writer of the Poſtſcript has laid down in his Letters concerning Toleration, as it is againſt Sir H's, there had been ſome better pretence for his taking this notice of it. And poſſibly it was his *miſtaken* Opinion, that this Paſſage was deſign'd againſt him, that muſt account for it among other things; ſince without this miſtake, I can't ſee, that the notice he has taken of theſe Paſſages can have proceeded from any thing but a pique which he had againſt the Author of 'the Letters for Toleration'; which I wou'd willingly excuſe him from, as much as I cou'd.

This General Propoſition appearing to be true conſider'd in it ſelf, and the Reference it bears to the place where it ſtands, and the deſign with which it was written; there's no need that any thing more be ſaid to prove the Truth of the *former* Propoſition, that depends upon it, and is included in it, viz. 'That if Deprivations and Incapacitys
'wou'd

'wou'd dispose the Dissenters to be convinc'd, and were proper to that
'End; then all the penal Laws were much more so, and ought to stand
'in full Force against 'em': unless any one shou'd think fit to assert, that all the penal Laws wou'd not bring greater Hardships upon the Dissenters than bare Deprivations and Incapacitys. I hope the World will give me leave to call 'em so, till the Writer of the Postscript has prov'd, 'Incapacitations,' which he wou'd have substituted in the room of 'Incapacitys', to be an English word; and that *Incapacitys*, which he finds fault with, is not one; and has not the same Idea annext to it, which he thinks can be only tack'd to the uncouth word he makes use of. For Incapacitys in our common Phraseology does not only denote the want of a Capacity, but the taking it away: Or if you will, it does not only denote a want of a Natural, but the taking away of a Legal Capacity by a Law made to remove it. However our Author will take care to put it out of his power to make this Cavil for the future: And when he has occasion to make use of this word, he will add 'Legal' to it, that there may be no opportunity for a Critick to mistake his meaning.

The Author of the Postscript has not chang'd his Character, nor forgot to act the 'man of Art.' He has play'd the Grammarian to eke out some scanty Criticisms in Logick; and when he found plain Reasons wanting to prove his Remarks, and to overthrow the Connexion that there is between the parts of each Proposition, and the Relation each of them bears to one another, he has only brought a Couple of *Similitudes* to argue their Absurdity, and to ridicule 'em. Similitudes serve very well to illustrate and explain; and convey our meaning more lively, and impress it more strongly than any form of expression whatsoever. But when they are us'd as single Arguments, and are supported by no other Syllogisms and Demonstrations, they seldom prove any thing more, than that he who uses 'em does not understand distinctly the thing they are brought to prove. For if he did, might he not better prove the Question in dispute from the nature of the thing it self, than from the nature of another thing, which is suppos'd to be like it? Especially since there is more danger, considering the defects of our Understanding, that a man shou'd not know two things, than that he shou'd know one. Whereas if he does not equally understand both the thing he talks of, and that which he compares it to, 'tis by chance if his Comparison does not lead him into a mistake.

And we shall find, upon a little Examination, that this has been the case of the Author of the Postscript, whose Similitudes serve no purpose, but to mislead others; and to give his Answerer the trouble to shew, that they don't serve that purpose, for which they are brought. This I shou'd be the *better* able to do, if he had told me, how he supposes Opium to operate towards disposing some sick People for their Recovery, and how moderate and seasonable Showers make the Earth fruitful, as

clearly

clearly as Sir H. M. has inform'd us, how Penaltys are to diſpoſe the Diſſenters to be convinc'd. If he had done this, I might very poſſibly have convinc'd him out of his own Mouth of the difference of theſe Caſes. But the Author of the Poſtſcript's Art and Caution is here again to be admir'd, who has not only made uſe of a Couple of Similitudes, the moſt fallacious of all ways of arguing; but has choſen ſuch, whoſe diſparity we cou'd not ſo eaſily prove, by reaſon of our Ignorance of the myſterious manner by which Opium operates, and Showers impregnate the Earth. But tho he has not given me this Advantage, yet it will be no very difficult thing to convince every unbiaſs'd Perſon of the diverſity of both his Compariſons without it. It ſo falls out, that Caſes, which ſeem at the firſt view to bear ſome proportion, cou'd not poſſibly be more different.

A ſecond Letter, p. 21, 22.

He firſt obſerves that when our Author ſays, 'that if Deprivations 'and Incapacitys wou'd diſpoſe the Diſſenters to be convinc'd, and 'were proper for that end; then all the Penal Laws are much more ſo, 'and ought to ſtand in full force againſt 'em: Becauſe that if Hard'ſhips were proper to that end, the greater they were, the more likely 'were they to be effectual.' He obſerves, I ſay, 'that when our Author 'ſays this, he diſcourſes juſt as wiſely and ſtrongly as he that ſhou'd ſay; 'if a Doſe of two Grains of Opium will diſpoſe ſome ſick Perſons for the 'recovery of their Health, and is proper for that end; then thoſe Perſons 'ought to take all the Opium, and other Narcoticks that they can get. 'For if Narcoticks are proper to that end, the more they take of them 'the more likely are they to be effectual. And he adds, that by the 'like diſcourſe, any one that has a mind to it may prove, that a 'perpetual Deluge wou'd make the Earth more fruitful than moderate 'and ſeaſonable Showers; and a hundred ſuch things beſides. The Diſcourſe in 'the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters' is ſo different from this, that I think the Author of the Poſtſcript cou'd no ways have expos'd his own weakneſs more than by *comparing* them. For in the firſt caſe, two grains of Opium are ſuppos'd to be ſufficient means to diſpoſe ſome ſick Perſons for the Recovery of their Health; and ſince it is only ſuch a quantity of Narcoticks that is ſuppos'd proper to that end, Narcoticks, as they ſignify an indefinite quantity, can't be ſaid to be proper to that end. And in the other caſe, a Deluge has no tendency to make the Earth fruitful. Whereas Hardſhips are ſuppos'd by Sir H. M. to have a tendency to diſpoſe the Diſſenters to be convinc'd; and are ſuppos'd to have this tendency as Hardſhips. For he has ſet no bounds to the Hardſhips that are to beget this Diſpoſition, but makes Deprivations and legal Incapacitys, conſider'd as ſomething that's contrary to Love and Kindneſs, and the gentle methods of Reaſons, Arguments and a good Example, that is to ſay Hardſhips as Hardſhips, proper and likely to produce this effect. As we have prov'd before, both

by

by the whole frame of Sir H's Scheme, and ſome particular Expreſſions which he makes uſe of.

Sir H. has never ſo much as pretended, that the Hardſhips he ſpeaks of, are to produce this Diſpoſition as moderate Hardſhips, but as Hardſhips. Nor indeed cou'd he ſet any bounds to them. And tho the Author of the Poſtſcript has talk'd of *moderate* Penaltys, which is what I ſuppoſe he wou'd compare with two grains of Opium, and moderate and ſeaſonable Showers (tho this Compariſon is not at all pertinent to the Paſſage he takes notice of) yet he cou'd never be brought to define his moderate Penaltys, tho call'd upon ſo often to do it. Nor can he ever comply with this demand, and tell us preciſely what moderate Penaltys mean. The moſt he can ſay is, that they are ſuch as will attain their end when they are apply'd, and will make men impartially conſider. But then the queſtion will ſtill return, What are thoſe Penaltys, that will make men impartially conſider? If he does not know till the Effect is produc'd, and muſt apply Penaltys till men conſider impartially; he may be forc'd to regulate his Penaltys by our Author's diſcourſe, as ridiculous as he wou'd make it appear to be, and inflict the ſevereſt Penaltys to make men impartially conſider if lighter Penaltys wou'd not reach that End. Juſt as, to borrow his Compariſon, and to uſe it with more Juſtice; if Opium moderately taken was the only remedy that cou'd diſpoſe ſome ſick Perſons for the recovery of their Health; and he meant nothing by a moderate quantity of Opium, but what wou'd diſpoſe 'em for Recovery; and he did not know what wou'd diſpoſe 'em for recovery till they were really recover'd; if leſſer quantitys wou'd not do, they muſt ſtop at no quantity of Opium and other Narcoticks they cou'd * get, that wou'd not infallibly kill. And ſo in the other caſe, if the Author of the Poſtſcript was the Father of the Drops, and had no other method to make the Earth fruitful than ſeaſonable and moderate Showers; and if by ſeaſonable and moderate Showers, he only meant Showers that wou'd make the Earth fruitful, and conſequently did not know when he had rain'd down ſeaſonable and moderate Showers till the Earth had produc'd her Fruits: Putting this to be the caſe, if ſmaller Showers wou'd not impregnate the Earth, he muſt come to greater; and ſtop at nothing but a perpetual Deluge.

Indeed he might know in both theſe Caſes, that ſuch a Doſe of Opium as wou'd infallibly kill, and Rains which wou'd perpetually drown the

* *Thus Dr. Sydenham tells us, it was his Practice,* '*augere doſin Laudani* ' *pro Doloris magnitudine; & doſin in tantum augere, donec tandem pervicaciſſima* ' *illa ſymptomata (ſcilicet Vomituritionis & Convulſionis) ſub jugum victoris mit-* ' *terentur*'; *and directs others to do the like. Tho. Sydenham,* ' *Praxis Medica* ' *Experim. p. 262, 263.*

Earth

Earth and all its Productions, were no likelier means to diſpoſe for Recovery or Fruitfulneſs, than to knock out mens Brains to make 'em conſider: And unleſs the Writer of the Poſtſcript cou'd ſuppoſe, what I think 'twas impoſſible for him to ſuppoſe, that our Author cou'd mean Hardſhips, that wou'd abſolutely prevent all Wiſhes, Enquirys, and outward Conformity, by 'the greater Hardſhips which he ſaid were the moſt 'likely to beget a Diſpoſition for Conviction,' he has but very unjuſtly compar'd the greater Hardſhips our Author ſpeaks of to ſuch a Doſe of Opium as wou'd infallibly kill, and ſuch Showers as wou'd produce a perpetual Deluge. For ſuppoſing the Compariſons of two grains of Opium and ſeaſonable and moderate Showers to be pertinent to the Paſſage taken notice of, which they can't by any means be allow'd to be, yet if it had the Face of a *juſt* one, it ought only to have compar'd our Author's greater Hardſhips (which are ſtill ſuppos'd to leave room for Wiſhes, Enquirys and outward Conformity, as appears from the Inſtances our Author gives of theſe greater Hardſhips) with ſuch a Doſe of Opium as wou'd not kill, and ſuch Showers as wou'd not perpetually drown.

Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters, p. 54.

But farther, tho what Sir H. ſays of Hardſhips had been only ſaid of the moderate Hardſhips which the Author of the Poſtſcript has pleaded for, yet cou'd not Deprivations and legal Incapacitys be juſtly ſaid to be moderate Penaltys, in whatever ſenſe moderate Penaltys are taken. For they wou'd not be mild Penaltys to him, who by this Deprivation ſhou'd loſe a Place by which he got his Bread; and by the loſs of which he muſt Starve: Nor wou'd it be perhaps enough to make another man impartially conſider, or outwardly conform, who loſt but an Inconſiderable place by it, which he did not value. And ſince *Deprivations and Legal Incapacitys wou'd not be moderate Penaltys* in any Senſe, 'tis eaſily ſeen, how unjuſtly the Author of the Poſtſcript compares Deprivations and legal Incapacitys, under the notion of moderate Penaltys, with two grains of Opium and with ſeaſonable and moderate Showers. Whence it follows, that he who ſays, 'if Deprivations and Incapacitys are proper to diſpoſe the Diſſenters to be convinc'd, then greater Hardſhips are more proper to that end', does not argue ſo weakly, as he who ſays, 'that from thence it follows, that if two grains of Opium are proper to diſpoſe ſome ſick Perſons for the recovery of their Health, therefore they muſt take all the Opium they can get; and that if ſeaſonable and moderate Showers produce fruitfulneſs, a perpetual Deluge will. For Deprivations and legal Incapacitys don't bear the ſame proportion towards begetting a diſpoſition in the Diſſenters to be convinc'd, that two grains of Opium do to beget a Diſpoſition in ſome ſick Perſons for recovering their Health, and that ſeaſonable and moderate Showers do to produce fruitfulneſs in the Earth. Both theſe Remedys for Sickneſs and Barrenneſs being ſuppos'd to be moderate Remedys; and Deprivations and legal Incapacitys being in no ſenſe moderate Penaltys.

Besides, The Physician that administers Opium, from his knowledg of the Rules of Physick, and the Indications of each Patient, knows what particular Dose is proper, for this or that Person that is sick; and if that Dose will not do, he betakes himself to another Course. But if there was but one Physician in a Country, whose Province it was to prescribe, and the Business of all others concern'd in Physick was to apply the Prescriptions to particular Cases, and to administer the Medicine; and if Opium was the only Medicine prescrib'd for such a particular Disease, then he, whose Province it was to prescribe, must order the Apothecarys to encrease the Doses of Opium, till they came to such as wou'd be infallibly mortal, if lesser ones would not perform the Cure. And must not Lawgivers act in the same manner, who must prescribe one sort of Penaltys to all Dissenters, and have no other remedy for their Indisposition to be convinc'd; and who must leave it to the executive Power, to inflict those Penaltys, not according as they shall see Occasion, but pursuant to their Prescriptions? Must not the Legislature, I say, order, that where lesser Penaltys are not effectual they shou'd proceed to greater, and not stop till they come to such as were inconsistent with Wishes, Enquirys or outward Conformity? And then I appeal to all Mankind, which reasoning is best, our Author's, who said, 'That if Deprivations and Incapacitys were 'proper to dispose the Dissenters to be convinc'd, then all the Penal 'Laws were much more so, and ought to stand in full force against 'them'; or the Postscript's, which says, 'That he, who discourses 'thus, discourses as strongly as he, that shou'd say, that if two grains 'of Opium were proper to dispose some sick Persons, for the recovery 'of their Health, then they ought to take all the Opium, and the 'other Narcoticks they can get.

By this time I promise my self, that every considering Reader will not only be induc'd to suppose, that a very great Disparity wou'd appear between the Hardships, by which Lawgivers are to beget a Disposition in Dissenters to be convinc'd on the one hand, and two grains of Opium to dispose some sick Persons, for the recovery of their Health, and moderate Showers to impregnate the Earth, on the other; were these two Cases as well understood as the former: But that it will appear at the same time, that there can hardly be imagin'd a greater Disparity between any two Cases, that have the least resemblance. *Since the barren Earth, sick People and Dissenters; moderate Showers, two grains of Opium and Hardships; the Almighty Father of the Drops, Physicians, and Lawgivers, as they are here compar'd,* bear no proportion to one another. They that think me too tedious in shewing the Diversity of these Cases, will I hope forgive me, when they consider, that he who writes against Similitudes and general Expressions, which have no determinate meaning, must, like a Man who

builds upon the Ruins of an old Foundation, ſpend as much time in clearing the Rubbiſh, as in raiſing the Pile.

A ſecond Letter, p. 22, 23. The other Paſſage the Poſtſcript takes notice of, is quoted from p. 25, 26. of ' the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters', where ſpeaking of the Worſhip due to God, and telling what the Diſſenters Reaſons of their ſtated Diſſent amount to, our Author has theſe words. ' To give to God ' either what we think wou'd be unacceptable, or leſs acceptable than ' ſomething elſe, that is in our Power to perform, wou'd be to offer ' him an Affront inſtead of Homage, and muſt procure his Reſent- ' ment inſtead of his Acceptance. And as not to worſhip God at ' all, is to turn Atheiſt, ſo not to worſhip him in that manner, ' which we think will pleaſe him beſt, is to become as much worſe ' than an Atheiſt, as to outrage and inſult the Deity is worſe than ' to neglect it. Whence it follows, that whilſt the Diſſenters think, ' their Way of Worſhip more acceptable to God, than that eſta- ' bliſh'd by Law; 'tis impoſſible for 'em not to remain Diſſenters, ' unleſs they'l turn Atheiſts, and not worſhip God at all; or Hypo- ' crites, and not worſhip him, in that which they take to be the ' moſt acceptable manner.

This is the Paſſage: and then the Author of the ſecond Letter ſays, ' He cannot but obſerve, that if theſe be the Principles upon ' which the Diſſenters pretend to juſtify their ſtated Diſſent and ' Separation from the Church of England: If this be what the Diſ- ' ſenters Reaſons amount to, as this Author expreſly tells us it is; ' then their Principles and Reaſons will oblige them, not to a ſtated ' Diſſent only, but to a perpetual and never interrupted Diſſent or ' Nonconformity. If they think the Worſhip of the Church of ' England leſs acceptable to God, than that which they give him ' in their ſeparate Meetings; they can never by theſe Principles wor- ' ſhip him with the Church of England, without offering him an ' Affront inſtead of Homage; nor without procuring his Re- ' ſentment inſtead of his Acceptance; nay, not without becoming ' as much worſe than Atheiſts, as to outrage and inſult the Deity ' is worſe than to neglect it'.

Yes, *they may*, unleſs they think all the parts of the Worſhip of the Church of England, at all times leſs acceptable to God, than that which they give him in their ſeparate Churches. And therefore till he proves, that they think ſo, which he never can, he infers

P. 24. very unreaſonably from hence, ' that our Author muſt allow him to ' ſay, it follows, that whilſt the Diſſenters think their way of Wor- ' ſhip more acceptable to God, than that eſtabliſh'd by Law (as ' he ſuppoſes they always do) it is impoſſible for them ever, at any ' time, upon any Occaſion whatſoever, to conform to that eſta- ' bliſh'd Worſhip, unleſs they will turn Hypocrites, and not worſhip

' him

'him, in that which they take to be the moſt acceptable manner; 'and ſo by their own Principles turn worſe than Atheiſts, &c.

But our Author can by no means allow him to ſay this: Becauſe he unjuſtly ſuppoſes, that thoſe Diſſenters of whom 'the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters' is ſpeaking, always think their way of Worſhip more acceptable to God, than ſome parts of that which is eſtabliſh'd by Law. Indeed if they did, his Inference wou'd be juſt: But there is *enough* ſaid in the 'Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters', to prove, that they don't. And the Reaſons are there given, by which the Diſſenters prove Conformity to ſome parts of the eſtabliſh'd Worſhip, at ſometimes to be more acceptable to God, than worſhipping him in their ſeparate Meetings. For it is there ſhewn, that their thinking thus, ariſes from ſuch Principles, as they are ſaid there to build upon that Article of our Belief, the Communion of Saints; upon Apoſtolical Examples, and the direct Tendencys it has to very valuable purpoſes. And enough is ſaid to obviate the Contradiction, with which the Author of the Poſtſcript wou'd load this Opinion; and the Opinion it ſelf is vindicated from a pretended Inconſiſtency; and that Inconſiſtency is retorted upon a known Practice of the Church. So that how the Writer of the Poſtſcript came to ſlip this over, and to think, that the Diſſenters who are there ſpoken of, always believe it more acceptable, to worſhip God in their ſeparate Churches, than ſometimes in ſome parts of Worſhip of the eſtabliſh'd Church, he himſelf can beſt tell.

Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters, P. 30, 32, 35.

P. 27. in marg.

P. 30, 31, 32.

P. 34, 35.

Nor cou'd he reaſonably infer this from the Principles of their ſtated Diſſent, tho he had only conſider'd 'em abſtractedly in themſelves, and without giving himſelf the trouble to compare them with their Reaſons of Occaſional Conformity, to which he was refer'd, and which muſt have obviated this Difficulty, if he had fairly conſider'd 'em. And to him let ſee, that he had no great reaſon to conclude, that the Diſſenters think it always more acceptable, to worſhip God in their ſeparate Churches, than to join ſometimes in ſome parts of the eſtabliſh'd Worſhip; becauſe they think they muſt be Hypocrites or Atheiſts, not to remain Diſſenters; I will but juſt *ſtate the Caſe* of the Occaſional Conformiſts. They think their ſeparate Churches have ſome ſacred Advantages, which are wanting in the National Church. And that therefore it is moſt acceptable to God, to join ſtatedly in their Worſhip. They take the Church of England, to have ſome Corruptions, Defects, and unwarrantable Impoſitions in thoſe things, in which they differ. They hold themſelves therefore oblig'd to ſeparate at all times from thoſe Parts of Worſhip which are corrupt; and never to join ſo far in the other, as to encourage and abet its ſuperfluous Impoſitions, or its Defects; which they think conſtant and total Conformity wou'd

P. 27. in marg.

Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters, P. 28, 29.

encourage and abet, and from which consequently they ought to abstain: But which they think Occasional Conformity does not, and from which consequently they are not oblig'd to abstain. And therefore they think these Imperfections of the Church do not make it less acceptable to God to conform to the Church, than to separate from it, in those things in which they agree, and to an indifferent thing impos'd, upon those Occasions, when the sacred Advantages of Conformity over-ballance those of Separation. Since, as our Author said, 'Conforming to an indifferent thing impos'd, does not encourage an imposing Spirit in those that enjoin it:' From which, together with a Stubbornness against amending sinful Defects, and the Corruptions of the Church, they ought always to separate.

P. 8, 13.

And that nobody may think these Principles groundless and *fantastical*, I will only repeat what our Author said upon this occasion. That it is as consistent and as reasonable, to think it generally more acceptable to worship God in a Meeting, and sometimes to join in some parts of the Worship of the Establish'd Church; 'as for a Man, 'who liv'd in a Popish Country, to think it prudent and advisable 'to eat Flesh on a Wednesday and Friday constantly at his own 'House, and Fish sometimes upon those Days at his Neighbours: Or 'for a believing Corinthian, to hold it lawful to eat Meats offer'd to 'Idols, if it was not notify'd to him, that they had been offer'd to 'an Idol, and unlawful to eat 'em if it was. To this I will only add, that it is as consistent and as reasonable, as it wou'd have been to have given King Charles the First any Sum of Mony for his private use in his Distress, if he had desir'd it; and to have deny'd him any Levys of Mony demanded by his Officers, without Authority of Parliament, by force of Arms. Or, to pass from a Civil to a Religious Instance; as it is to think it more acceptable to God to forgive an Injury if the injurious Man repents, and not to forgive him, if Forgiveness wou'd encourage his injurious Dispositions. Or, as for St. Paul *, to think it more expedient to communicate statedly with Societys of Christian Gentiles, who had no Terms of Communion but the Terms of Salvation; and occasionally with the converted Jews, in some parts of the Jewish Worship, namely, its unnecessary Cere-

Rights of Protestant, Dissenters, p. 32.

* *See the Case of St. Paul's Occasional Conformity stated, and prov'd to be parallel to the present Case of Occasional Conformity, in a Pamphlet, entitl'd,* The Interest of England in respect to Protestant Dissenters, with some Thoughts about Occasional Conformity, *printed in the year* 1703. *from p.* 43. *of the second Edition, usque ad finem: which I hope the Author of 'the Letter 'to a Friend' will peruse, because I see he does not understand our Author's Notion about St. Paul's Occasional Conformity, and St. Peter's Occasional Non-conformity.*

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monys and Constitution, which were rigidly impos'd by the Governors of that Church. Or, to instance no more, why is it not altogether as consistent and as reasonable, as to think it generally most acceptable to go to Church, and to join in God's publick Worship on a Sunday; and to stay away upon those Occasions, which our Lord and Saviour has expresly commanded, and upon others of a like Nature? By this time, I hope, it will appear, that the Throat of the Author of the Postscript's Criticisms is cut, instead of 'the Throat of Occasional Conformity,' which the Writer of the Postscript possibly finds so very difficult a thing to do, that he would have gladly found it done to his hands. *A second Letter, p. 24.*

This Vindication of the Consistency of the Principles of Stated Dissent and Occasional Conformity, will serve, I hope, to set * another Author right, who with a small variety has made the same Objection to 'em upon that account with the Postscript. Our Author is oblig'd to that Author for the Temper, which, baiting a Sally or two, runs thro the whole of it towards him, however narrow the Principles are which he lays down. But our Author hopes he needs make no Apology to the World, for not giving it as particular an Answer, as he has done to the Postscript. 'The Letter to a Friend' having taken the same unjust Course with 'the Rights of Protestant Dissenters,' which has been charg'd upon the Postscript, p. 88, 90. A method so apparently unjust, that it wou'd have prevented our Author from taking any notice of the Postscript, as well as of the Letter, in order to his own Vindication, if there had not been some particular Reasons for his taking notice of the Postscript, which don't hold in the present Case. That I may just shew that 'the Letter to a Friend' is liable to this *Exception* before I conclude, I will give the State of the far greater part of the Controversy, between our Author and him. There are two Exceptions, among others, that may be suppos'd to be brought against the Toleration of Occasional Conformists, namely, that they are Hypocrites and Schismaticks: Which are thus remov'd, that they are neither Hypocrites nor Schismaticks; or that if they were both the one and the other, they ought not to be depriv'd of the benefit of a Toleration. Now in answer to this, 'the Letter to a Friend' pretends to prove nothing more, than that they are both Schismaticks and Hypocrites (tho Mr. Dodwell ‖ owns

‖ *Occasional Communion fundamentally destructive, &c. §. 30. a place I happen'd to dip upon in turning the Book over.*

* *The Author of a Letter to a Friend, in which the Occasional Conformists are prov'd to be guilty of Schism and Hypocrisy; in answer to some Arguments produc'd to the contrary, in a late Pamphlet, entitl'd* The Rights of the Protestant Dissenters: *printed at the Theater in Oxford.*

that

that the latter is impossible to be prov'd) but does not offer at any thing to prove, that if they are Schismaticks and Hypocrites, they ought to be depriv'd of their Toleration: Whereas without proving this, all that he has said, were it perfectly conclusive, wou'd not at all confute 'the Rights of Protestant Dissenters.'

But it seems this is the way of writing now *in fashion.* Instead of shewing the Injustice and Inconsistency of any Cause, the present Writers only set themselves to shew the Inconsistencys and Absurditys of its Advocates: And instead of laying the whole of their Arguments together, and representing 'em to the best Advantage, before they confute 'em, they only play the Sophister or the Critick. They find out here and there a flaw, and print their Discoverys under the Title of 'Specimens of the Answerableness' of a Book, to which they ought to give an Answer; but instead of which, they only publish its Errata. If they go on to write thus, our Author hopes he shall be excus'd, if he keeps his Word, and does not answer 'em. For he has something else to do with a few of those leisure hours, which Men who have the Happiness to live in our Universitys, have the good Fortune to abound with, than to spend 'em in playing the Critick, and to prove that he has not been guilty of the slips in Controversy which others wou'd charge upon him, or that they are not guilty of far greater.

Rights of Protestant Dissenters, p. 78.

Our Author however wou'd have taken care, that the five last Leaves of 'the Letter to a Friend' shou'd have been consider'd, because the main point of the Controversy is there touch'd upon, if he had not seen a *third* Pamphlet, entitled, 'the Rights of the Church 'of England,' which possibly together with this, will make up a compleat Answer to 'the Rights of the Protestant Dissenters.' Our Author has not yet had time to read any of it; but he is so much in earnest in search after Truth, that as soon as he has, if he finds that it enters into the Merits of the Cause, and that debating it will help to clear the Truth of the Points in question, he promises it shall have its due Consideration. And this he is the more willing to do, because he is every day more and more persuaded, that all Principles but those of an Universal and Absolute Toleration, lead to Popery or Hobbism.

But he hopes the Authors of that Book have pursu'd the Rules of Dispute, which he has laid down elsewhere, and have consider'd and stated what he says, as fairly as he has stated every thing advanc'd by Sir H. M. before he pretended to refute it. This he thinks is the least he can expect from the Place whence that Book comes, and from the Combination which has been pleas'd to think it worth their while to answer

Rights of Protestant Dissenters, Part I. p. 75, 76.

anſwer ' the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters.' But if they have ſwerv'd from thoſe juſt Rules of Controverſy, and have left our Author's principal Difficultys unanſwer'd, only to entertain themſelves with his Miſtakes (as the Anthor of ' the Poſtſcript,' and ' the Letter to a Friend' have done) after that our Author has ſo earneſtly deſir'd the contrary of 'em, as Truth was dear to 'em; and after he has taken ſo much care not to be guilty of this Fault himſelf: he hopes all the World will take this manner of proceeding to be the Symptoms of a deſperate Cauſe; and that they will conclude, if his Book receives no other Anſwer, 'tis becauſe it won't admit of it. If the learned and ingenious Authors of this Anſwer particularly, ſhall only diſtort our Author's meaning, that there may be ſomething to confute; and laying aſide Reaſons and Arguments, ſhall only addreſs themſelves to Mens Paſſions, and vent their own in a manner that is altogether unbecoming Civility and good Manners, and inconſiſtent with a Chriſtian Spirit; our Author finds himſelf ty'd up from making any Return, but his conſtant Prayer to Almighty God to forgive 'em, and to grant 'em a Temper that is more becoming the Goſpel of Peace.

He wou'd at the ſame time leave it to Mankind to *Judg*, which Principles look more like thoſe of true Chriſtianity: The Principles of Force and Conſtraint, which lead Men to ſuch Heat, Rancour and Violence; or thoſe of an Univerſal and Abſolute Toleration, with which ſuch Rage and Fury is altogether inconſiſtent: And which has the beſt Right to a Toleration, Railing or Religion. I am inform'd, that there is ſomething ſo unuſually bitter and venomous in this Performance, that a certain Gentleman, who has had ſome hand in it, has thought it proper for him to certify it Publickly, that he has nothing to do with any thing, but the Argumentative part of it. I am ſurpriz'd that there ſhould be any parts of it that are confeſs'd not to be Argumentative. What thoſe parts are which are own'd not to be argumentative, and which can yet be produc'd in anſwer to ' the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters,' I can't well imagine. However I ſuppoſe it will be agreed on all hands, that thoſe Parts are not worth anſwering, which one of its Authors ſhou'd think neceſſary in ſo publick and unuſual manner to diſown. His Ingenuity ſets off their Virulence; tho, as I am inform'd by thoſe that have read the Performance, it needs no foil.

FINIS.

The Reader is deſir'd to take notice, that it is the ſecond Edition of the firſt Part of ' the Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters,' which is quoted in this Poſtſcript; and alſo that the 28th Page of the Book is miſnumber'd, which he's deſir'd to mend with his Pen.

The PREFACE.

I Think it has been pretty generally agreed among unbiaſs'd Men, that to prevent Occaſional Conformity, by depriving every Man of all Offices which he holds at preſent, and incapacitating him for 'em for the future, who ſhould but once go to any Place of Publick Worſhip, not according to the Uſage of the Church of England, would be inconſiſtent with the Toleration. But whether the Attempts, that have been made to do it, have proceeded from a Deſign to prevent a Practice, merely as it was pretended to be hypocritical, or to ſecure the Church and State; or only to weaken the Toleration, ſeems to have remain'd a Queſtion among enquiring Men ſomething longer.

And indeed it muſt be own'd, that there was more room for a Debate upon this Head than upon the former: The Queſtion about the Nature of Occaſional Conformity and its Conſequences, being in a great meaſure new, perplex'd and intricate. Some ſpecious and popular Objections too had been rais'd againſt Occaſional Conformity, and the Men that practis'd it; and but little had been advanc'd in anſwer. Thoſe that have laid a Deſign, having always this Advantage over their Adverſarys, that their Attacks are in a much greater Forwardneſs, than the Defence of the others poſſibly can be.

But ſince ſuch pains have been taken to ſet this Controverſy in a true Light, and Men have had time to conſider, and to ſee the Injuſtice theſe Deprivations and Incapacitys wou'd do the Diſſenters, and how little they deſerve to be ſo hardly us'd, and that it will by the following Diſcourſe more fully appear, how unſerviceable this Uſage will be to the Church as well as to the State; whoever now ſhews himſelf zealous for theſe Deprivations and Incapacitys, muſt pull off the Mask and openly declare for Perſecution: Eſpecially ſince Deprivations and Incapacitys puniſhing only Diſſenting Magiſtrates (a thing

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very peculiar in a Law against Dissenters) appears at the first view to be design'd, among other ends, to remove one of the main Pillars of the Toleration; which is not only supported by Laws, but by Magistrates and Officers who must put those Laws in execution.

And that the Zeal for laying the Dissenters under these Deprivations and Incapacitys, proceeds from an Inclination to impair the Toleration, and not to prevent Hypocrisy or to secure the Church, to wave other Considerations, is more than probable from hence; that some of those, who have appear'd the warmest for taking this Course, have since the finishing these Papers, commenc'd Prosecutions in the Spiritual Courts against the Dissenters in several parts of England, upon some pretended Flaw and Slip, that they hope they have at last found out by their great Study and Acuteness in the Act of Toleration, so many years after that Act has been made.

*This is an undeniable Evidence, that how much soever some Men may pretend to be for the Toleration, and even to secure it by these Deprivations and Incapacitys, yet that really they are Enemys to it; and wou'd not only make new Penal Laws against Dissenters for their conscientious Dissent, which they pretend they are not exempted from by the Act of Toleration; but such as they themselves have confess'd, they were freed from by that Act *: And wou'd begin to worry the Dissenters again with their vexatious Suits, if the Law did not prevent 'em. Since when they imagine there's any room left for it, they presently begin to inflict their Ecclesiastical Censures, for not conforming to the Ceremonys of the Church.*

And since the unwearied Attempts that have been made of late to obtain new Laws inconsistent with the Toleration, and the Endeavors that are us'd to invalidate that Act it self, seem to bespeak the Toleration in so much danger, I must sub-

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* Sir H. M. owns that a Freedom from Prosecutions for Conscience-sake is a part of the Toleration, *B. p.* 3. § 3.

mit it to the Judgment of those, to whom 'tis presumption to dictate, whether some Method should not be thought of, to remove this Doubt that some have rais'd about the meaning of the Act of Toleration; and to put a Law, by which the most undoubted and indefeasible Right of Mankind is protected, and the publick Quiet so much secur'd, out of the reach of any Attempts to encroach upon it, or to repeal it for the future. I'm sure they must oppose this with a very ill Grace, who seem to be so fond of declaring themselves steady Friends to the Toleration, as to have taken an Occasion to assert, that it ought to be inviolably observ'd, when others thought they were defeating its general Design, and undermining the Whole.

'Tis a Law in which every Man finds his Advantage so much, Churchman as well as Dissenter, that if they wou'd but give themselves leave to consider, none wou'd oppose it. For to say the Truth, Establishing a Religion being nothing else than giving its Professors a great many Privileges, and Tolerating a Religion being nothing else than giving its Professors some few Privileges; the present Establishment of the Church is in propriety only a more ample Toleration, as the Toleration is only a more narrow Establishment. He therefore that petitions the Legislature to take away the whole of the Toleration, or any part of it, like Zebedee's Children, when they wou'd have call'd for fire from Heaven, knows not what he asks; and only sets a Precedent to the Dissenters, to desire the Legislature to repeal the Establishment, or to the Legislature to do it, whether It is sollicited to it or no.

I'm sure the Dissenters have as much Right and greater Provocations to ask it, and the Legislature to grant it, than any Churchman can have to desire the least Encroachment upon the Toleration. He that having abundance of large Privileges, won't let his Neighbour enjoy his lesser ones peaceably, seems to have a Mind set upon domineering, and ought to be taken care of, lest he grow too big for Subjection to his Superiors,

as well as too uneasy for a quiet Life with his Equals. He discovers such an Inclination to engross all the Protection and Favors of the Government, and to enrich himself by the Spoils of other Men, that the Legislature may be as justly incens'd against him, as the good King of Israel was against the oppressive rich Man in the Prophet's Parable.

And indeed an Establishment of any Religious Party is but a narrow Foundation to build its own Liberty upon. He that would secure the Liberty of worshipping God according to the Usage of the Church of England, in the surest manner that may be to himself and to his Posterity, will find, that that is best to be done, by getting all the Securitys that are possible, for giving a Liberty to every Man to worship God according to his Conscience, and to punish any Man that shall invade that Right, as a Man that robs on the Highway, or that disturbs the publick Peace, or any the most known Right of Mankind. For every Party will do their utmost to maintain such Laws as these: Whereas a Law, that establishes any one Religious Party, will aggrieve all others, and will be oppos'd and undermin'd upon all Occasions.

And methinks the Circumstances of Affairs as well as the Nature of the thing seems to hint such a Project as this is to us. For since Almighty God has, by so signal and surprizing a Victory, freed our State, among others, from the Oppression with which a Common Disturber threaten'd our Libertys, there can be no Return more proper for this Nation to make for so great a Blessing, than to restore any Right that has been unjustly taken from any of its Subjects, or to give a better Security to any that want it. And let no Protestant, who wishes, that the Emperor may make this use of his Deliverance in behalf of the Protestants of the Empire, and his Protestant Subjects in Hungary, wish to see any other use of it made against Protestant Dissenters here.

The

The Right of the Diſſenters to an Abſolute Toleration vindicated.

SINCE it would be unfair in an Appeal to the World to bring Evidence but on one ſide, I having produc'd in the Firſt Part what the Proteſtant Diſſenters ſay for themſelves, and anſwer'd their Adverſarys Exceptions to their Defence, find my ſelf oblig'd by the Rules of common Juſtice to conſider what is alledg'd againſt 'em. But here I ſhall barely confine my ſelf to the Objections that fall under one Head of the former Treatiſe; and not concerning my ſelf with thoſe made againſt other Points of the Diſſenting Controverſy, ſhall barely *vindicate* the Diſſenters Right to *an Abſolute Toleration* from the *Objections of Sir H. M:* Which may be conſider'd as Arguments againſt the Diſſenters Title to a Toleration, tho he propoſes 'em as Arguments to prove the Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of the Occaſional Conformity Bill.

Sir H. has ſpent a great deal of pains in anſwering the Objections, which the Managers for the Lords brought againſt that Bill, as it was ſent up to them in Decemb. 1702. But I ſhall *not concern my ſelf* with any part of

Sir H's Treatiſe, as it comes under that view, and ſhall only make uſe of it, whenever it ſerves to explain or to give any better color to the Propoſitions which he lays down to vindicate the main Deſign of that Bill. For conſidering that their Lordſhips Objections againſt that Bill were rather regulated by the Orders and Rules of their Houſe, than by their own particular Judgments of the Merits of Occaſional Conformity, and were rather level'd at ſome Parts of the Bill, than againſt its Deſign ; it wou'd be foreign to my purpoſe to enter into that Debate. I'm ſure it wou'd be altogether needleſs, ſince their Lordſhips Objections to thoſe Parts of that Bill againſt which they are brought ſeem ſo reaſonable, and Sir H's Attempts to enervate 'em ſo ineffectual, that nothing needs be added to ſhew the Strength of the former, or the Weakneſs of the latter. Sir H. ſeems to be ſo diffident of this part of his Performance himſelf, that he refers us ' to the ' Honorable Houſe of Commons for better Anſwers to ' the Objections brought againſt the Bill, and for better ' Amendments in order to our fuller Satisfaction.

B. p. 12. Poſtſcript.

Inſtead therefore of debating with Sir H. from what Offices a Diſſenter ſhould be excluded, and under what Penaltys ; I ſhall betake my ſelf to the other Part of his Book, and *conſider*, whether *his Arguments prove* that a Diſſenter ought to be excluded from *any* publick *Employments*, tho it were under the *mildeſt Penaltys* imaginable. And to this Conſideration Sir H. has limited me, ſince he has not thought fit to anſwer the Objections in ſeveral * Pamphlets that came out this year and the laſt againſt the Deſign and Intent of the Bill ; nor given me the opportunity to free thoſe Arguments from his Exceptions.

* Letter to a Peer. The Intereſt of England in reſpect to Proteſtants Diſſenting from the Eſtabliſh'd Church, &c. Moderation a Vertue.

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Whatever has induc'd Sir H. to be guilty of this Omission, it cou'd not be, that he thought an Anſwer to thoſe Objections altogether needleſs. For ſuppoſing that the Diſſenters, who don't pretend much to Politics, had ſaid nothing in their own behalf that Sir H. cou'd have condeſcended to reply to (tho ſuch a Condeſcenſion wou'd have tended mightily to free 'em from the Fears and Jealouſys which the Scope and Drift of this Bill had fill'd their Minds withal, and which Sir H. profeſſes to be the chief end of his appearing in Print) yet certainly he cou'd not think it ſuperfluous, or below him, to anſwer the Opinion of a learned Gentleman, concerning 'the 'Inconveniencys of this Bill, addreſs'd to her Majeſty 'under all the Ornaments of Oratory and good Language. Pref. p. 1. §. 7. Ded. p. 1. §. 2.

Poſſibly Sir H. found that this was not eaſily to be done: For he ſeems tacitly to confeſs, that there are ill Conſequences attending the Excluſion of all Diſſenters from Employments; and puts the Queſtion in my opinion only upon this Iſſue, whether there are not greater Inconveniencys in allowing them to remain capable of any. For he tells her Majeſty, 'That the Conſequences that 'may be ſuppos'd to happen upon ſuch a Bill, or 'which the Wit of Man can poſſibly invent or imagine 'as poſſible, will not diſcourage her Majeſty from concurring with her Parliament in paſſing ſuch a Law, as 'they [i. e. the Houſe of Commons] conceive to be 'reaſonable, and even neceſſary to preſerve Peace at 'home, and to promote, &c. By this it appears, that Sir H. is well appriz'd of our Strength, and that he thinks it upon that account more adviſable to fortify his Camp than to attack ours. By *acting* thus *upon* the *defenſive*, poſſibly he hop'd to have conceal'd his Weakneſs, and to have ſecur'd the Palladium from the Fire of the Enemy. But perhaps Sir H. will find himſelf diſap- Ded. p. 3. §. 3.

 pointed,

pointed, when he sees us leave our own Intrenchments, and attempt to force his: So that I can't help flattering my self, that his Caution upon this occasion will do him as little Service, as his Heat does upon some others. I'm sure it ought to give a just Prejudice to his Cause, and render it less difficult for us to convince the World that it is not to be defended.

And if we shou'd use no other Artillery in this Enterprize, but that which Sir H. has furnish'd us withal, and shou'd only *turn his own Cannon upon* him, we cou'd not fail of Success. For since we have not only prov'd in the Former Part, but have produc'd some Passages out of Sir H. which so fully recognize the Title every man has to a Toleration, the Efficacy of an absolute Indulgence, and the Inefficacy of Persecution to prevail upon the Minds of men; and since we have shewn an Exclusion of Dissenters from all Offices to be inconsistent with a Toleration, and a Persecution for Conscience sake, that it self is sufficient to answer all that Sir H. has said for the Usefulness and Necessity of such an Excluding Bill. For whatever he can possibly alledg for such an Exclusion after all this, amounts only to so many Objections against a Truth, which he himself has laid down as a Principle that he has always entertain'd. So that we might justly leave the Task we have undertaken to Sir H. and desire the Favor of him at his leisure to answer his own Arguments, both to shew the Consistency of one Truth, and of one of his own Principles with some others of 'em. And if Sir H. wou'd so far oblige us, we might justly hope for peculiar Success. For since he has promis'd, 'that he will readily submit to the greater Judgment 'of any man, who shall argue fairly and not conceal 'his Principles 'if his Arguments deserve it,' he will find

Part 1. p. 21, 22.

Part 1. p. 34, 35, 36.

Pref. p. 1. §. 9.

Pref. p. 2. §. 4.

find much less difficulty to yield to his own. Such a Submission to the Truth from him wou'd be of singular Service, and might be so much the more expected, if he wou'd undertake himself, by how much 'tis generally thought equally honorable to find out ones own Weakness, and shameful to have it discover'd by any body else.

But possibly Sir H. has not leisure for this Engagement: and therefore since he has been so charitable as to endeavour to set the World right about the Occasional Conformity Bill, and at peace with one another after all their Differences concerning it; I think my self bound in return to do what I can to *set Sir H. right* in his Notions of the Design of this Bill, and to shew him the best way of being *reconcil'd with himself*. In order to this, as we have endeavour'd in the Former Part to establish the Truth of his standing Principles concerning a Toleration, so we'll now endeavour to satisfy Him, and all that are of his opinion, that there is no force in his Arguments for the Bill, which I believe are Opinions that he has taken up but of late; and so that he need be at no further trouble than to part with them, to free the Truth and his own Principles from any Contradiction.

His Arguments for excluding Dissenters from all public Employments are these three. 1. Because admitting 'em is inconsistent with the Practice of all wise Nations. 2. With the plain Intent and Meaning of our Laws. 3. With the Safety of Church and State. For in this order Sir H. treats of 'em from P. 1. to the *4th*. Tho' in P. 4. §. 3. he proposes 'em in the contrary Method; and in the next Paragraph Sir H. is pleas'd with some contradiction to confound their Meaning and their Method too. But I shall treat of 'em in the *Order* Sir H. has propos'd 'em in the third Paragraph, both in justice to my Reader and him; since Sir H. there states 'em the most naturally

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and distinctly to be refuted or prov'd. For if it can be made out, that the admitting Dissenters to public Employments is not inconsistent with the Safety of the Church and State, it will appear that there's no reason to exclude 'em, tho other Nations shou'd have done it, or tho our own Legislators in former Reigns had design'd it. But if I can't make good the first of these Assertions, Sir H. will have no great difficulty to prove the two others. And since the Strength of his three Arguments lies chiefly in the first, we'll consider each Part of it by it self, and shew, (1) That the Admission of Dissenters to public Employments is not inconsistent with the Safety of the State, nor (2) with the Safety of the Church.

I wou'd only beg leave before-hand to make two Remarks upon Sir H's *manner* of stating the Question. The Title-page and the Preface tell us the Design of the Book is to vindicate the Proceedings of the House of Commons on the Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity. That Bill excluded some Churchmen, and excluded them as well as the Dissenters from all Employments of Honor or Profit, that either were confer'd by the favor of the Queen or the People; and Sir H. to vindicate this Bill only pretends to prove, that 'tis necessary to exclude all Dissenters from public Employments. Sir H. has no where told us what he means by *Public Employments*. If he only means Civil Offices by it, and Employments under the Government, and so opposes public Employments to the private ones of a Profession or a Trade, I have nothing to say against this Term in the Question. But either this Expression means more than that, and denotes the high Offices of State, in opposition to those of lesser consequence (which I'm the more apt to believe it does, be-

Pref. p. 1. §. 7.

B. p. 1. §. 2. p. 4. §. 3.

* cause

cause he elsewhere calls 'em the Administration of publick Affairs) or else he uses it only to cast a mist before the Reader's Eyes, the best Defence of a bad Cause. For had not this word [Public] been foisted into the Question, it wou'd have appear'd a ridiculous Proposition at first sight, and provok'd Laughter rather than Concern at any Danger that threatned the Church or State, from a Dissenter's being let into any of the petty Offices of England. B.p.1.§.1. P.4.§.4.

The other Remark that I wou'd premise is, that whereas Sir H. pretends in stating the Question, that the Danger that threatens the Church and State from the Principles of the Dissenters, justifys the excluding 'em from public Offices, yet that neither the danger of the one nor the other is the *true Design of the Bill.* For if it was, why did it exclude Occasional Nonconformists? Since certainly their Principles cannot so much as be pretended to be inconsistent with the Safety of the Church or State: for they amount to no more than this, that the Churches of the Dissenters are barely lawful, but that the Church of England is by much the preferable. Nay these Men must both in the nature of the thing, and according to Sir H's way of reasoning (who thinks an Inclination to execute all the Laws of the Kingdom necessary to qualify an Officer, as we shall see by and by) be the fittest Men in England to be employ'd to execute the Laws, which at the same time that they establish the Church, tolerate the Dissenters; since they may justly be suppos'd better inclin'd than any others, to execute the Laws which maintain both the Establishment and the Toleration. So that if Sir H. had stated the Question fairly, and wou'd have vindicated the Bill to purpose, he shou'd have prov'd, that the Admission of any man that goes but once to a Meeting into the most inconsiderable Office of Honor or Profit in the King-

dom,

dom, is inconſiſtent with the Safety of the Church and State. But as this muſt be a Demonſtration to all thinking men, that the deſign of the Bill is not the bare Security of the Church and State from the Principles and Deſigns of the Diſſenters, ſo ſuch a State of the Queſtion wou'd have prov'd, that Sir H. to turn his own words upon him, 'is not contending for a Security to the 'Church and State, but for Power and Dominion,' and to monopolize and perpetuate it, in the hands of men of his Party and particular Perſuaſion.

B. p. 11. §. 5.

And tho Sir H. don't talk ſo openly as this, and pretends all along, that the Diſſenters are to be excluded from all Publick Offices to ſecure the Church and State, yet he lets a word drop by chance that ſhews, that a man was to be incapacitated for all Offices for going to a Meeting, not purely to ſecure the Church and State from the dangerous Principles of the Diſſenters, but *to prevent the Occaſional Nonconformity* of Churchmen. For he tells us, 'It was not fit to exempt the Proteſtant Diſſenters from 'Offices of Burden, tho they were incapacitated for Offices 'of Favor, becauſe the eaſing the Diſſenters in that particular wou'd have a different Effect from what was deſign'd, and wou'd by eſtabliſhing Occaſional Nonconformity, encreaſe an Evil this Bill was deſign'd to remedy.

B. p. 8. §. 1.

And ſince by all this it appears that the Bill had ſome other deſign than barely excluding the Diſſenters from Offices becauſe of their dangerous Principles; and that it was particularly intended to prevent Occaſional Nonconformity, and to exclude ſome Churchmen as well as Diſſenters from all ſorts of Offices of Honor or Profit: it is evident, that tho Sir H. cou'd prove his Aſſertion, and make it appear, that the admiſſion of Diſſenters into publick Offices is inconſiſtent with the Safety of Church and State, yet he cou'd not thereby vindicate the Occaſional

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Conformity Bill. So that as a late ingenious Author has observ'd Sir H. to be guilty of begging the Question twelve times in this Treatise, we may add to make up the number thirteen, that he has entirely *mistaken it here.* *Occasion. Letter. 1. p. 30, 32.*

But let us see whether the *Assertions themselves* can be made out. And first let us see whether the admission of Dissenters to public Offices *be inconsistent with the Safety of the State.* I am very sorry Sir H. has not explain'd any of these Terms, and has left me so liable to mistake his meaning. Sir H. uses such general Expressions 'of the establish'd Government in Church and State, of Uniformity, Establish'd Religion, and Establish'd Constitution (that I may use the words of a Learned Serjeant) as seem indifferently calculated, and may indifferently serve for the Meridian of Edinburg, Geneva, Paris, Rome, or Constantinople; and with a small variation of Names may be publish'd in behalf of the Constitutions in Church and State in all those places. However that if I mistake, I mayn't at least be mistaken, I wou'd take the liberty to tell my Reader what these words here *stand for.* The State signifys the present Constitution, and (its Perpetuity in) the Protestant Succession: And the present Constitution consists in the Rights of the People, and the Powers of the Government: And they are either the joint Powers of the Sovereign and the two Houses of Parliament for making good Laws, or the separate Powers (1.) of the two Houses of Parliament, which consist (besides the Powers of Impeachment and Judicature) in giving their Opinion and Advice; and (2.) of the Sovereign, which consists in the just Exercise of the Prerogative, the due Execution of the Laws, and pursuing the Advice of the *Catholicism without Popery, the second Part, by John Hooke Serjeant at Law.*

the two Houses of Parliament, as often as the Sovereign shall judg it for the good of the People. The Safety of the State consists in the preservation of the present Constitution and the Protestant Succession; and in taking those Measures which are necessary to that end. These at present seem chiefly to be the maintaining a good Correspondence between the Sovereign and the two Houses; reducing the exorbitant Power of France, which threatens both the Constitution and the Succession; a Security from the Non-Jurors in the three Kingdoms, who deny the Government their Allegiance, and can't be its Friends; and from the Papists, who are Subjects to a Foreign Jurisdiction, and must necessarily be its Enemys.

This is what I mean by the State and its Safety. But because some men affix other Ideas to these words, and which are hardly to be separated from them when they occur; I wou'd just hint it, that by the State *I don't mean* any Branch of Arbitrary Power, nor any of the Measures necessary to introduce it. I wou'd not therefore be thought to go about to prove, that to admit Dissenters to Offices, is not in some measure inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Divine Right of Kingly Authority, of its unlimited Extent, or of the indispensible necessity of its being propagated in the Right Line; or with the Doctrines of an Absolute Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience to the Crown which spring from them; or with the Practices which tend to restore them. Such as stretching the Prerogative in one Reign to serve some turns, and the Rights of the House of Commons in another to serve a different one: But which still manifestly tend to weaken the present happy Constitution and the Protestant Succession, and to make room for the subversion of our Libertys, the bringing in these Principles of Slavery and the pretended Prince of Wales. And I wou'd here particularly

cularly desire Sir H. M. to take notice, that I don't pretend, that to admit Dissenters to Offices, is not inconsistent with giving 'the Sovereign a Dispensing Power, or 'with acknowledging his Right to levy Customs without consent of Parliament, or with flattering him 'that 'tis as good a Right as any in Magna Charta, and 'more antient, and thereby to destroy both Property and 'Parliaments at the same time.' If Sir H. means this by asserting, that the admission of Dissenters to public Employments is in some measure inconsistent with the Safety of the State, I have the honor to agree with him entirely. But all that I wou'd contend for, to state the Question clearly, and that there may be no Subterfuge in the ambiguous Term of Public Employments, is, *That the admission of Dissenters into any Offices or Employments under the Government whatsoever, is no ways inconsistent with the preservation of the present Constitution and the Protestant Succession.*

Sir H's Address presented to K. James. Gazette, N° 2015.

I. To *prove* this it will be sufficient to shew, that the Protestant Dissenters, and particularly those whom this Bill was chiefly aim'd at, and wou'd have principally affected, have been always equally zealous in endeavouring to preserve the Constitution from Alterations of every sort, either from a Foreign Force and Invasion, or the illegal Encroachments of the Crown, or of the People. And to prove this, nothing more will be necessary than barely to recollect their Conduct. For they impartially, in conjunction with both Houses of Parliament, oppos'd the unreasonable and precipitate Measures of King Ch. I. and the beheading him afterwards by the * Army. They Remonstrated against the Subversion of the Government, and suffer'd often during the Disorders of those times for attempting its Restoration, and were at last very instrumental in bringing it about. During the Reign of King

* *See the Remonstrance of about sixty of their principal Ministers against it, printed in the year 1648. annext to the I. Part.*

 Charles

Charles II. they offer'd themselves a perpetual Sacrifice, rather than let the Papists reap any Benefit, or the State receive any detriment by their Ease and Safety; and did what they cou'd by falling in with the Endeavours to exclude the Duke of York, to the hazard and loss of many of their Estates and Lives, to save us the danger and expence of a Revolution. And when the defeating that Design made the late happy one at last necessary, they had the Honor to pave the way to it, and heartily to abet it, together with the present Settlement of the Crown, and the Succession in the Protestant Line. They have been true to this glorious Cause ever since, in Parliament, in Places, and in their private Capacitys. They, who have had the Honor to sit in Parliament, have faln in with those worthy Patriots, that were the forwardest to give Taxes; and the rest have been as remarkably chearful in paying them, and in filling the Loans when Credit was at the lowest Ebb. Those of 'em that had a share in the public Administration, discharg'd their Trust with that singular Fidelity, that none of the Mismanagements of public Monys, which have been so mightily complain'd of, have been ever laid at their door. Their Pulse has always beat with that of the Public. No Resentment nor Apprehensions of their own particular Danger cou'd ever make them dejected at any public Advantage, or easy under a common Calamity. No Cowardice ever made 'em desert the Abdication Interest under all its difficultys. Nor did any baser Principle ever influence 'em to betray it, by discouraging its Friends, or giving any Assistance to its Enemys. The Opposers of the Exclusion of the Duke of York, of the Abdication, of the present Settlement of the Crown, of the Protestant Succession and the present War; or of Taxes, Associations, and Abjurations, in order to support 'em: The Betrayers of our Counsels, the Clogs to public

public Businefs, the Traytors to this Government and the laſt, the intended Aſſaſſins of K. William of ever-glorious Memory, and the Men whoſe common Talk has been all along the Reverſe of the public Intereſt, were no Diſſenters nor Occaſional Conformiſts.

Seeing then 'tis notorious to all that no Men have been more faithful than the Diſſenters in ſerving the Government, ſince it has been ſettled upon its true Baſis, they can't hear themſeves *coupled with Papiſts* without a juſt Indignation and Reſentment. 'Tis true, as Sir H. M. obſerves, that the Papiſts are Engliſhmen as well as the Proteſtant Diſſenters, if being born of Engliſh Parents, or living on an Engliſh Soil, can entitle 'em to that Denomination, and the Privileges that attend it. But a Capacity of public Employments is a Privilege, which tho their Birth gives 'em, they voluntarily renounce; and which the Diſſenters have done nothing to forfeit. For can a Papiſt have an Engliſh Heart, or do the Proteſtant Diſſenters want it? Can the Roman Catholicks be ſubject to an Engliſh Juriſdiction, or do the Proteſtant Nonconformiſts own any foreign one? How comes it then to paſs, that a Gentleman who underſtands our Conſtitution ſo well as Sir H. and who has writ a Treatiſe upon the Rights of the ſeveral Parts that compoſe it, can put Papiſts and Proteſtant Diſſenters upon a level; or can think it any Conſequence, that if the Papiſts are juſtly excluded from all public Employments, Proteſtant Diſſenters may be ſo too? Or on the other hand, that if being an Engliſhman or an Engliſh Subject gives Diſſenters a Capacity to hold an Office, it muſt neceſſarily give thoſe of the Roman Communion the ſame? When a Papiſt is but a native Locuſt that lives upon our Productions and corrupts 'em, takes the Protection of the Government, and betrays it: And 'tis as a Traytor that he is made incapable of all Offices by our Laws,

B.p.6.§.3.

Laws, and not for holding Purgatory or the Doctrine of the Mass, or any other Tenent, as 'tis merely different from those of the Establish'd Church.

I know 'tis pretended, that tho the Dissenters own the Queen's Supremacy, and are not in any foreign Interest, yet that they are *Enemys to the English Constitution*, and bear an implacable Hatred to Monarchy, and are great Friends to a Commonwealth. Sir H. says, that 'they are a Party of such Principles as must inevitably 'end in the Ruin of the State, and therefore thinks 'that their Inconsistency with the public Safety is rather 'to be consider'd as the reason of their Exclusion, than 'the nature of their Crimes. To prove the Inconsistency of their Principles with the Constitution, several Instances are produc'd. 'Tis alledg'd, that they were the Men that beheaded the King. A man must have a good Forehead to impute this Fact to the whole Body of the Dissenters, when above sixty of their principal Ministers made so bold and so warm a Remonstrance against it. But then 'tis insisted on, that all the Dissenters join'd in taking up Arms against the King, and brought him to the Block, tho they did not cut off his Head. Properly speaking, no Dissenters took up Arms against the King. Those that engag'd in the Civil War on the Parliament side were Conformists to the then Establish'd Church. But supposing that they had been Dissenters at the time they took up Arms against the King, wou'd it follow that they were greater Enemys to the Constitution than the Churchmen, who invited over a foreign Force, and join'd with it against K. James? Or does it follow, because those Men once oppos'd the illegal Proceedings of the Court, that a just and prudent Government wou'd be in any danger from them were they now alive? 'Tis farther pretended, that the Dissenters were engag'd in several Plots against K. Charles II. One wou'd have

B. p.6.§.4.

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ſcarce expected that the forg'd Villanys and brib'd Evidences, that were then made uſe of to trapan ſeveral worthy Perſons, and to ſpill ſome of the beſt Blood we cou'd boaſt of, ſhou'd have been produc'd as Authoritys againſt the Diſſenters now-adays, and at a time when 'tis become the Mode to ridicule a real Plot as a ſham one. But were it true, that ſome Diſſenters had been engag'd in Conſpiracys againſt the Perſon of King Charles II. it wou'd affect the Body of the Diſſenters at that time no more than ' Keys, Charnock, Sir William Perkins, Sir John Friend, ' and Sir John Fenwick's ' being concern'd in the Conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate K. William, proves that all the High Churchmen or Nonjurors were embark'd in the ſame Deſign.

But a Crime quite contrary to all theſe is laid to the Diſſenters charge, and they are highly blam'd for turning Courtiers in the Reign of K. James II. for not writing ſo much againſt Popery as their Brethren did, and for running into the Meaſures of a diſpenſing Power. In anſwer to this it muſt be obſerv'd, that the Preſs was at that time ſhut againſt the Diſſenters, and ſeveral things ſtop'd and refus'd which they offer'd to the Public. But if they had not this to ſay for themſelves, it was no very ill Deſign in the Diſſenters to leave that Controverſy to the Church, not ſo much becauſe ſhe had brought us into the danger, as that by leaving the management of the Diſpute to her, ſhe might thereby learn the Principles of an abſolute and impartial Toleration of every man, in judging for himſelf about matters of Faith and Worſhip; which had been but too much oppos'd or too little regarded in the preceding Reign: And which the Church ſhou'd learn at any price, becauſe they are the only Principles upon which the Reformation ſtands. Or if the Diſſenters did not avoid entring into the Controverſy from that Deſign, yet when the moſt is made of this matter that can be,

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it can amount to no more than the charge of a Neglect upon 'em. But it can never be imagin'd, that the Dissenters, who have not only quitted the Doctrines, but every thing that's like the Ceremonys or Constitution of the Romish Church, cou'd possibly enter into a Design to promote its Interest. Some few of 'em tir'd out with a long and bitter Persecution, might possibly run farther into the Measures of a dispensing Power for their own ease, than can be wholly justify'd; tho all the Severitys of the Reign preceding that, cou'd not bring them to fall in with those Methods. But such an undue Expression of Joy at their Deliverance, may be justly pardon'd as a mere Frailty of human Nature. Others who did not suffer themselves to be transported by the Pleasure this Ease and Relaxation had given 'em, oppos'd the Addresses that were then made, and condemn'd 'em. And they who had been guilty, quickly found their Error, and comply'd with the honest and wise Advice of that accomplish'd Statesman the Lord Marquiss of Halifax; which his Lordship and the best Churchmen had the gratitude afterwards to acknowledg. And his Lordship in return to their prudent Conduct became their Patron at the Revolution, and signaliz'd himself very much by his Endeavours to procure a Comprehension for some, and a Toleration for 'em all. But if some few of these mistaken Dissenters had never return'd to a better sense during that Reign, why shou'd Sir H. conclude that they have not alter'd their Opinion, when I'm persuaded he's desirous the World shou'd think that since that time he has alter'd his? For I belive he wou'd not have any one take him for a man that wou'd at present have Customs levy'd without Consent of Parliament, or be concern'd in regulating and garbling Corporations to serve any body, tho he thought fit to solicit the one, and as 'tis said to transact the other to gratify a Prince that us'd all his Power to promote

His Letter to the Dissenters.

promote the Intereſt of the Church of Rome.

But were all theſe Facts juſtly laid to the Charge of the Diſſenters in thoſe ſeveral Reigns, yet the preſent Body of Diſſenters can be affected by *no Principle* but what they hold, nor by *any Fact* but what they either have perpetrated or abetted. But to impute the Actions, and to charge the Principles of Predeceſſors to thoſe that ſucceed 'em in their general Character and Denomination, wou'd be a Charge no better grounded than to conclude, that Sir H. M. is a Commonwealths-man, becauſe his Grandfather acted in a Commiſſion under the Commonwealth againſt K. Ch. II. 'Tis ſo very obvious to every one, that theſe Charges are ſcanty and defective, that to eke 'em out, 'tis further urg'd, that the Diſſenters have Antimonarchical whiggiſh Principles, and wou'd clip the Prerogative, and encreaſe the Libertys of the People, till they have at laſt brought our Government to a Commonwealth. But whatever ſpeciouſneſs there was in this Objection ſome years ago, yet it can't be urg'd with any face againſt them by their Adverſarys now; ſince their Complaint againſt the Diſſenters in the late Reign was, that they were turn'd Courtiers, whilſt they boaſted that they were the Succeſſors of the antient Whigs, pretending to act purſuant to thoſe Principles, when they brought in thoſe Limitations to the Bill for ſettling the Proteſtant Succeſſion, which have made greater advances to a Commonwealth than were ever made before, unleſs it were in Forty one.

Baker's Chron. p. 706. col. 1.

But if there were any Commonwealthſmen in England, and the Diſſenters were of that number, it wou'd be *dangerous* to exclude 'em from Offices, whilſt there are any Churchmen ſtand poſſeſt of 'em that are for Arbitrary Power. For thoſe that are for ſtretching the Prerogative, are equally deſtructive to a Limited Monarchy with thoſe that wou'd contract it. Whereas it may

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be hop'd, that if both these sorts of Men are suffer'd to continue in Offices, the true Constitution, which lys between both Extreams, may be preserv'd by ballancing the Power of these jealous Pretenders: Like a petit State between two potent ones, who being each watchful to prevent the Inroads of the other, secure the lesser from all danger, till one of them being reduc'd and broken, leaves the inconsiderable State an easy Prey to the Ambition of the Conqueror. So that upon the Supposition (which however is a very false one) that the Dissenters are Commonwealths-men; yet if we wou'd preserve our Constitution, we must either exclude Absolute Monarchy-men from all Offices, or suffer the Dissenters to enjoy 'em.

I can't here forbear making these two Reflections, as a Corollary from the Character of the Dissenters as 'tis drawn by their greatest Enemys. 1. That they are a set of men who principally *aim* at the preservation of our common Libertys, and their own Toleration. These Principles can't be dangerous, because they are the End of our Government, and a Part of our Constitution. And, 2. that nothing has engaged 'em in undue *Measures* to attain these Ends, but illegal Prerogatives and Persecution. For no Crimes are laid to their Charge since the Toleration they have obtain'd, and the Security of our Libertys which the late happy Revolution has given us. So that the End the Dissenters aim at being lawful and good, 'tis but for the Government, according to their Enemys Representation, to maintain the Just Rights of the People, and the Liberty of the Dissenters, to keep 'em from all violent Methods to obtain those Ends, and to unite 'em intirely in its Interests.

But to *grant* more to the Adversarys of the Dissenters than ever their Malice yet pretended, if it did appear that their Aims were prejudicial to the Government, and that they had a turbulent Spirit resolutely bent upon any

means by which thoſe Ends might be obtain'd; yet conſidering that they are independent from any Foreign Force of France or Rome, they cou'd not be thought dangerous. Nor cou'd it ever be in their power to hurt any Government, till by carrying on an Intereſt oppoſite to the People, it ſhall have rendred it ſelf odious, and provok'd the Body of the Engliſh Nation to join with them in reſcuing their Rights from an unjuſt Oppreſſion. Which was in a good meaſure the Caſe of the Revolution. And then the Diſſenters muſt inſtead of being dangerous to the Conſtitution, by their readineſs to fall in with ſuch Meaſures, become the moſt inſtrumental to reſtore it.

II. Thus we have prov'd, that the Toleration of the Diſſenters in Offices, is not inconſiſtent with the Safety of the State. Let us ſee what Sir H. *offers to prove that it is*; and that I may digeſt what he ſays, ſcattered up and down his Book, into the beſt order I can, for the eaſe of my Reader, and the ſtrength of Sir H's Argument, it may amount to this, (1.) That an excluſion of Diſſenters from Offices, wou'd procure us an Union. (2.) That that Union wou'd give us a good adminiſtration of the Laws at home, (3.) and a vigorous proſecution of the War abroad. (4.) That it wou'd be a Security to the Queen, (5.) to her Proteſtant Succeſſors; and (6.) to the Diſſenters themſelves.

1. Sir H. ſays, It wou'd procure us an *Union:* But I don't find that he any where tells us what this Union is. Indeed in ſome places he calls it *Uniformity* in the State; but he leaves us as much to ſeek what he means by it as by the other. Does he mean that by the excluſion of Diſſenters from Places, all the Officers of England wou'd be of one Stature, or of the ſame Complexion? It may be Sir H. will be angry with me for Ded. p. 4 B. p. 11. §. 6, 9.

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putting such a meaning upon his words: But I can't see for what; for I'm sure such an Uniformity is as necessary to the Service and Security of the State, as that all Men in places shou'd pray to God with a Common-Prayer Book, or shou'd all receive the Sacrament kneeling, or have their Children baptiz'd with the Sign of the Cross. And that this Uniformity is the most that Sir H. means by Union, appears from the Dedication: Where he tells
P. 3. §. 2. her Majesty, 'That such an happy Union as Henry III. 'of France had almost obtain'd by the like Method, 'wou'd be an unspeakable Blessing to this Nation.' Since those Measures of Henry III. introduced nothing but an Uniformity in professing the same Religion, but were so far from procuring Unity, that a Civil War ensu'd, wherein the Members of the Establish'd Church, whom he had endeavour'd to oblige with his persecuting Laws, were the Rebels, and one of 'em his Murderer; and the persecuted Protestants (who were the Dissenters) the Subjects to whom he fled for Assistance and Support.

B. p. 11. §. 6. Indeed Sir H. tells us in another place, 'That this Bill 'will restore us *Peace at Home*, and will secure her Ma-'jesty from the Danger of having two contending Partys 'in the Nation'. We shall see presently whether it can do this or no. But better is it, that it shou'd not, according to Sir H's account of that Peace which it wou'd give us. For two contending Partys are better than one domineering one; and the Peace that's founded upon the Power of England's falling entirely into the hands of one of the Partys, will be a Peace without Liberty or Union either, and will make good the Character, that one of the Partys has gone under long since, that they'll unite with none but themselves, and have Peace with no body but their Slaves.

But Sir H. gives us the most determinate Idea of the Union this Exclusion of Dissenters is to compass, when

he tells her Majesty that it will make 'both [Church- Ded. p.
men and Dissenters] '*join in the defence* of her Majesty a-
'gainst the common Enemy': And this seems to be the best account he any where gives us of this Union. But does he mean that it will make the Dissenters *Unite with the Churchmen*, or the Churchmen with the Dissenters? If he means the first, 'tis no End that this Bill can promote, for 'tis attain'd already. No Men unite more chearfully with any for her Majesty's defence against the common Enemy than they do. And if they join more readily with some Members of the Church than with others, 'tis because those seem to them to be the most heartily engag'd in that Cause, or to take the most prudent course to serve it. I never heard that the Dissenters oppos'd the entring into this War, to support her Majesty's Title against the Pretender, or that they ever thought it to be impracticable, unnecessary, or unjust; that they ever oppos'd Mony Bills, or ever gave 'em any unnecessary Delays; that they ever talk'd of making Peace with France since the War has been begun, or shew'd any other uneasiness under it, than at its mismanagements; or that they ever join'd with those that did. It can be therefore no reason to exclude the Dissenters from Offices, to make 'em unite with the Churchmen in her Majesty's defence. And I think there's as little reason for their Exclusion, to make the Churchmen *join with them* for that purpose. For to exclude the Dissenters from Places, wou'd be to prevent 'em wholly from assisting in the defence of her Majesty; and that wou'd be just as wise a Method to unite Churchmen with the Dissenters in order to that defence, as it wou'd be to allude to the instructive Fable of * Menenius Agrippa', to cut off one Hand to make t'other join with it to provide Necessarys for the Belly, because some Quarrel had happen'd between 'em, which was the fittest for that Office. I suppose Joshua did

did not incapacitate the Gibeonites of all Honors and Privileges in the Jewish Nation, and make 'em Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water, to unite 'em to that Nation, but to keep 'em a distinct and a separate People.

Thus it appears, that what Sir H. calls an Union between Churchmen and Dissenters, wou'd be more properly a Separation, and must necessarily alienate the Minds of the one from the other. But let us see, upon the Supposition that excluding Dissenters from Offices might be design'd to unite Churchmen and Dissenters, by what *means* he proposes that this Exclusion shall effect it, that so we may the better judg whether 'tis worth the while to make a trial. For some say that other Projects of Sir H's, that have had a specious appearance, have brought 'em under Disappointments for want of this Precaution. He is so pleasant in one place as to tell us, that the Exclusion of Dissenters from Offices (i. e. taking all Power from Dissenters, and putting it all into the hands of Churchmen) will promote this Union, 'by putting it out of the Power of the Church to prosecute Dissenters;' And but the Line before, that it will promote it, 'by informing the Churchmen of the Extent of 'their Privileges:' As if they were ignorant of the Bounds of their Privileges at present, or as if the most exact Information cou'd have any tendency to promote this End. But when he is most in earnest, he seems to hope that excluding Dissenters will bring about this happy Conjunction, by fixing both their Eys intently upon defending her Majesty, and by removing Places, the golden Ball of Contention, out of the Dissenters sight, and the danger of the Church out of the Churchmens sight; and by putting it out of the power of the one to give, and of the other (viz. when they have no occasion) to take a Provocation which might dissipate their Thoughts, and divert 'em

Ded. p. 2. §. 1.

E. p. 10. §. 4.

'em from this steady view. And this I suppose Sir H. may mean, when he tells her Majesty that 'instead of 'private Factions and Cabals, They (i. e. Churchmen and Dissenters) 'will join in the defence of her Majesty:' and in another place, 'that when Matters shall be thus 'happily settled, that both [i. e. Churchmen and Dissenters] 'shall be secur'd from the danger of one and a-'nother——And when the Church shall have no power 'or provocation to promote a Prosecution of Dissenters, '&c. then they will have no ground of Quarrel left on 'either side': and to this purpose he speaks in other places. Ded. p. 4. Ded. p. 2. §. 1. B. p. 11. §. 6.

If then the Exclusion of Dissenters from Offices is to effect this Union between Churchmen and Dissenters, by *removing the Churchmens Fears and Provocations*; it must be made out (1) That these are the true Causes of the Division. (2) That these are the only ones. (3) That this Exclusion wou'd remove those Causes. Sir H. according to his usual manner, has satisfy'd himself with asserting these Particulars; and till he proves 'em, our denying may go as far as his Assertion. However lest our Word shou'd not be thought as good as his, (1) we shall shew presently, that it is not probable that the Church have *any Fears* of the Dissenters, since the Dissenters are no ways dangerous. So that if she has any Fears of 'em, they can be nothing but Vapors and Spleen, and therefore like those that labor under that Distemper, must have some other Applications, than if she had the real Disease which the Vapors counterfeit. Whence it follows, that if an Exclusion of Dissenters be the proper Remedy for well-grounded Fears of the Church, it must be an improper one for those that are but imaginary. And it is hard to guess what Sir H. means by the *Provocations* which the Dissenters give the Church, unless he be so ill a Friend to the Church as to insinuate, that she is disoblig'd by the

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Inveteracy they diſcover to France, and the Duty they ſhew the Queen. Which I'm very apt to believe is a great provocation to ſome that aſſume and wou'd engroſs that Name: For this Behavior of the Diſſenters muſt needs incenſe them the more at preſent, ſince it muſt neceſſarily give the Diſſenters a great deal of Reputation, becauſe it can't be ſaid, as it was in the late Reign, that they are for continuing the War becauſe they are Courtiers, and wou'd flatter the Humor of a Warlike Prince, and live themſelves upon its Spoils.

But (2) if theſe were the Cauſes of the Diviſions among Churchmen and Diſſenters, they are *not all*, nor the *moſt conſiderable*. The Cauſes of the Diviſion between ſome that wou'd engroſs the Name of Churchmen and Diſſenters, is that the former wou'd graſp all the Places and Power of England, and perpetuate it in their own hands; that they wou'd either make all Diſſenters conform againſt their Conſciences, or loſe their Birthrights; and that the Diſſenters help the moderate Churchmen to ſhare the Dignitys and Power of England, and are protected by them from being perſecuted and oppreſs'd. So that 'tis in reality the want of Chriſtian Forbearance, and a Spirit of Selfiſhneſs and Envy, that are the chief if not the only Cauſes of our Diviſions. And theſe were the remote Springs of the Civil War, and not, as Sir H. 1. §. 3. pretends, 'the mixture and confuſion of Men of oppoſite Principles in the ſame Adminiſtration'. Now the proper Remedys for theſe Principles of Diſcord, are thoſe that wou'd introduce a Sufferance of one another, ſteady Aims at the Public Good, a Satisfaction to ſee it well ſerv'd, and an Impatience to ſee it diſſerv'd by any hands whatſoever. And the likelieſt method to cheriſh ſuch a happy temper among us, is an abſolute and complete Toleration by Law; and the Governments employing all men indifferently, according to their real Capacity for the Poſt,

Post, in which they are to serve. Those like true Restoratives will give us the only Peace and Union that Freemen can wish for, on that it cou'd enter into her Majesty's Heart, which is so entirely English, to recommend: Whereas we may easily guess what a Remedy the Exclusion of Dissenters that Sir H. proposes wou'd prove, since he's mistaken in the nature of the Distemper, and his Medicines must, instead of removing the Causes of our Divisions, encrease the present Malady, or turn it to a worse.

Her Majesty's Speech to her Parliament, Nov. 9. 1703.

But (3) if Sir H. had hit upon the true Causes of our Divisions, his *Application* wou'd have been *ineffectual*; since it does not so much as reach the Causes to which he ascribes 'em. For they being principally, according to our Author, the Fears and Jealousys of some Churchmen, that the Dissenters may some time or other ruin the Church, the excluding 'em from Places will not wholly remove those Fears and Jealousys, unless they be confiscated, banish'd, or imprison'd: For their Freedom, Estates, and Numbers, will minister endless Jealousys to melancholy men after being depriv'd of their public Employments.

But, tho an Exclusion of the Dissenters from Offices be not the proper method to unite Churchmen and Dissenters, yet possibly 'twill be said, that 'tis a very likely way to *unite Churchmen amongst themselves.* And some of the Passages quoted under the other Head suit that Scheme so ill, and fall in so much easier with this, that I can't but fancy Sir H. had this Thought in his mind, by what unhappy accident soever it prov'd abortive. For certainly it wou'd be much more proper to say, that the Exclusion of Dissenters wou'd unite all Churchmen, 'by 'taking away every Object of Jealousy and Provocation 'that might divert their Thoughts from the defence of 'her Majesty', than to say, that excluding of Dissenters

wou'd tend to unite the Dissenters with the Churchmen. That Exclusion having so direct a tendency to alienate their Minds from one another, and to make it wholly useless for them to turn their Thoughts upon her Majesty's defence, and absolutely necessary to divert them to contrive their own preservation, from the greater dangers that such unkind beginnings wou'd make 'em justly apprehend. I confess 'tis but seldom that I can hit upon such a Scheme of Sir H's Thoughts, that some other Lines don't cross and intersect. But if this be not Sir H's sense, yet it being that which I am sure will give his Argument the greatest force, I hope he'l forgive me, if I consider his Project as propos'd to unite Churchmen among themselves, exclusive of an Union with the rest of her Majesty's Subjects.

But I must be so free with Sir H. as to say, that this exclusive Union wou'd be extremely *prejudicial* to the true Interest of the State. For it can serve nothing but a Party, and consequently must needs disserve the whole. 'Tis plain, 'tis not an Union for the defence of her Majesty, and the Service of our Country; for if it was, why shou'd it be propos'd exclusively of the Dissenters, since none join more heartily for both those Ends? And seeing this separate Union is not intended for these Ends, it's a Conspiracy and not an Union; for it can only confederate its Members in Villany, and strengthen the Bands of Wickedness. Sir H. indeed thinks that what unites and serves the Sovereign and his three Estates, unites and serves the whole, because he thinks they are the whole, and 'constitute the Body Politic of the Kingdom'. But how can about seven hundred Persons be the whole Body Politic? I shou'd have thought, that the Body Politic had consisted, not only of those that govern, but of those that are govern'd. Five hundred and thirteen indeed represent the People of England,

Ded. p. 3. §. 1.

England, yet 'tis not impossible but they may have a separate Interest from those they represent. I suppose it won't be deny'd that the House of Commons, in the times of the Civil War, had such a separate Interest, and in that Case they became but a Party: And when the Sovereign and Sir H's Three Estates pass any Law to the prejudice of the Country, if they do it knowingly, their Laws then only serve an Interest different from that of the Public, and that I think is only the Interest of a Party. And I suppose no body will deny that several such Laws have been made: Such were all the Penal Laws against Protestant Dissenters, which serv'd no Interest but that of Papists and Bigots; and as such they have been since suspended. For if they had serv'd the common Interest, why were they not continued in full force? So that 'tis not always so safe nor so prudent 'for the Prince to concur in all Methods which shall be at any time thought 'proper by Parliament to transmit the Church [or State] 'securely settled to Posterity,' as Sir H. wou'd fain have her Majesty believe it is. The Parliament is indeed her Majesty's great Council, yet our Constitution supposes that they may be in the wrong, and therefore has lodg'd a Negative Voice in the Sovereign, that she may not be oblig'd to follow their Opinion blindly, but may have liberty to judg, whether what is propos'd be for the good, and agreeable to the Inclinations of the generality of the People, the only infallible Compass in such a Government as ours, which shall never have any declination, and by which no Prince shall ever steer and miscarry. Upon the whole then, notwithstanding this Exception which Sir H. made to invalidate an Assertion (in Dr. Davenant's late Book) that carrys a very public Spirit in it, I can't but be of opinion, that this separate Union cou'd be of no advantage but to Partys and private Men, and wou'd be highly disserviceable to the common

Ded. p. 2. §. 1.

Good. And indeed this Project tasts so much of a narrow Mind, and is so much below the comprehensive views a Statesman ought to have, that it seems only calculated for a Mine Adventure; where such sort of Maxims founded on these Principles, that the Governors of that Adventure constitute the whole Body of the Adventurers, and that nothing which promotes the Interest of the Governors, can lessen the Interest of the others, may be of singular Advantage.

And considering that an Union among Churchmen exclusive of the rest of her Majesty's Subjects is so mean an End, so unworthy of an honest and skilful Politician, and which is so much to be dreaded rather than desir'd; I must needs own that we are very much oblig'd to Sir H. for proposing *Methods* that can never obtain it. And that it can never be obtain'd by these Methods, is evident from the same Reasons from which it appear'd, that it cou'd never bring about an Union between Churchmen and Dissenters. But as an Exclusion of Dissenters from Offices wou'd alienate the minds of Dissenters from the Churchmen, so if the separate Union of Churchmen were a thing to be wish'd for, it wou'd only perpetuate greater Feuds and Divisions among them, who wou'd then be less cautious, and more prone to fall into a thousand lesser Distinctions and Subdivisions, as thinking them less dangerous to the Church, when the Dissenters had no power to make their Advantage of 'em; and more necessary for the Security of the State, when the Dissenters cou'd not be the Ballance in the Scale of Liberty, against those that are for Arbitrary Power.

2. Thus we see that Sir H. does not seem to aim at an Union of all her Majesty's Subjects, and that his Methods won't obtain it among any of them. And since all the other good Consequences which are to flow from this Exclusion,

clusion, are founded upon this imaginary Union, we may easily conclude how little of real Advantage we can receive from 'em. However that we may do Justice to Sir H's Argument, we'l consider the other pretended Effects of this Union more particularly. Sir H. 1st thinks that this Exclusion will procure us *a good Administration of our Laws*: and thinks that End can't be obtain'd, unless the Dissenters by being excluded from all public Employments, may no longer be entrusted with the Guardianship and Execution of those Laws, whose Interest it is to defeat and destroy 'em. And this is what I suppose he means, when he tells us, that the Question is, 'Whether it is consistent with the public Safety, to have some drawing 'one way, and some another, and thereby tearing the 'Government in pieces between 'em'. What Laws does Sir H. think they ought not to be entrusted with the execution of, upon the account of its being their Interest to defeat 'em? Is it the present Settlement, or the Protestant Succession, the Association, Abjuration, or the Attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales? Or does Sir H. think, that if a Dissenter was in the Treasury, Customs, or Excise, that he must have any Interest to defeat the Laws that are made for the well regulating those Revenues? So that it not being all Offices that cou'd so much as tempt a Dissenter to defeat the Laws, if this prove any thing, it *proves not* that the Dissenters ought to be excluded from all Offices, which is the Conclusion that Sir H. according to his loose way of Reasoning wou'd infer; but only that they ought to be excluded from those particular Offices, which execute such Laws as there is some pretence to think a Dissenter has Interest to defeat.

B. p. 10.

E. p. 6. §. 4.

E. p. 4. §. 4.

It may be Sir H. will say, that in order to the due Administration of the Corporation and Test-Acts, and the Act of Uniformity, it is necessary that the Dissenters shou'd

shou'd be excluded from such Offices, which are concern'd in seeing those Laws duly executed. But neither will it prove that. As to the necessity of excluding the Dissenters from those Offices that relate to the Act of Uniformity, I shall consider it when I come to prove, that the admission of Dissenters into Offices is not inconsistent with the Safety of the Church. I shall in the mean time only shew, that there is no necessity to exclude 'em from *those Offices* that are concern'd in *executing the other two.* For if no Man might be entrusted with any Office, but he who had a steady Inclination to do every thing in that Office which the Law requir'd, we shou'd want as many Officers as we now do Places. I must needs say, I hope this Principle is not true, because I think if it were, we might lose a very able Commissioner of the Customs, if her Majesty shou'd think fit to put Sir H. M. in that Commission. For he cou'd hardly be thought a very fit Person to sit at that Board, after the Address he presented to K. James. And supposing it were true, how cou'd a high Churchman be fit for any Office, that is concern'd in executing the Act of Toleration? And why shou'd the high Churchmen be rather trusted with the execution of that Law, than a Dissenter with the execution of the other two? I'm sure the Act of Toleration is of much greater consequence than the Corporation or Test Acts. For Papists might be excluded by other methods than such as are provided by those Laws: But nothing cou'd discharge the Duty of the Government to tender Consciences, and quiet the Nation without an Indulgence. Our wise Constitution therefore has made another Provision for the due discharge of an Officer's Duty, besides his Principles and private Perswasions. And instead of entrusting it to his Inclinations to execute the Laws, presumes the discharge of their Duty from their fear to defeat 'em: And supposes Checks over Officers to awe 'em

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into their Duty, and a due courſe of Law by Information or Action to puniſh 'em for any neglect. There is therefore no abſolute neceſſity that every Officer ſhou'd have an Inclination to put all the Laws in execution: Or at leaſt there's no more neceſſity to exclude Diſſenters from Offices that relate to the execution of the Corporation and Teſt Acts leſt they ſhou'd be defeated, than to exclude high Churchmen from all Offices that relate to the execution of the Act of Toleration, leſt that ſhou'd be defeated.

The 2d Advantage conſequent to this Imaginary Union, is a vigorous *proſecution of the War.* A very odd way of proſecuting a War, to create uneaſineſs at home, and to hinder thoſe from giving any direction and aſſiſtance in its management, that neither want the Will nor the Power to do both. Ded. p. 4. B. p. 12. §. ult.

The 3d is *a Security to the Queen.* But certainly it can't be any Security to her Majeſty, by excluding a Body of honeſt men from all Places, to weaken her Government, to endanger and undermine it: And that at a time when the difficult Circumſtances of our Affairs make it neceſſary to employ all able Perſons for the execution of our Laws at home, and all Heads, all Hands, all Purſes too few for her Majeſty's defence abroad. B. p. 11. §. 7, 8, 9.

The 4th is a *Security to her Royal Proteſtant Succeſſors.* Indeed the Houſe of Hanover is extremely oblig'd to Sir H. for ſo admirable an Expedient for its Security as this muſt neceſſarily be, which diveſts thoſe men of all Power who have the firmeſt Reſolutions to uſe it to the Service of that Illuſtrious Family; which weakens an Intereſt that has never been ſuſpected of being falſe to the Oaths they have taken to maintain its Succeſſion, after her Majeſty and the Heirs of her Body; and which ſtrengthens a Party that has been unwillingly brought to ſwear to the Government ſince the Revolution, the only Baſis of the Proteſtant Succeſſion. B. p. 11. §. 7, 9.

The

Ded. p. 4. B. p. 12. The 5th is, that it will be a *Security to the Dissenters*, of the continuance of their Toleration. A Dissenter must have his Head very odly turn'd, who shou'd think the taking away a Right he enjoys by Law for the sake of his conscientious Dissent, to be a method to secure it: Or that the Declaration of the Government, that a Dissenter is not fit to be tolerated in a Place, was an Argument that they were thought fit to be tolerated out of one: Or that if they were deprived of all Civil Power, they ought thence to conclude, that they might be secure of their Estates: Or to add no more Absurditys that a man must swallow to take in this Inference, it must be an uncommon penetration that cou'd find out that the Toleration wou'd be inviolably maintain'd, by seeing that Interest weaken'd which supports the Toleration, and is supported by it; and by seeing the Power that's taken out of the hands of that Interest, given into theirs, who have brought on and promoted all the bitter Persecutions in the preceding Reigns. I don't stand here to consider the Reasons Sir H. gives to prove these two last Assertions, because they have been examin'd before.

Thus I hope it appears, that the admission of Dissenters into Offices, is not inconsistent with the Safety of the State. We will now consider the more specious Part of Sir H's Argument, and see *whether it is inconsistent with the Safety of the Church.* Sir H. has here again left us to guess at his meaning: But since nothing will help us to determine this Question so clearly, as a distinct *Explication* of its *Terms*, I must beg leave to let my Reader know, that by the Church of England I mean a Society believing, or at least owning those of the Thirty-nine Articles that are Articles of Faith, and approving and

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acting pursuant to those that relate to Worship, Ecclesiastical Government and Discipline, to which certain Powers and Privileges are granted under the Sanction of our Laws. I desire that it may be observ'd too, that under the Articles of the Church, which relate to Worship and Discipline, I include the Canons, the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Ordination of Priests and Deacons. Now this being the true Notion of the Church, as its danger must be either the destruction of these Articles; or if all are not in any danger, then the destruction of the most or of the best of the Articles, rather than the destruction of the fewest or the less essential: So the Safety of the Church must consist in a preservation of all its Articles, or of the most and the best.

I know a great many People *mean something else* by the Safety of the Church than the Security of its Articles: And when they say that the admission of Dissenters into Offices, is inconsistent with it, they wou'd have us understand that it is inconsistent with the preservation of those Tenents, which are either no part of the Articles at all, or of those which are the less necessary, and perfectly accidental to Christianity and true Religion: Such as the Divine Right of Episcopacy, the absolute Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession down from the Apostles, the Episcopal Form, together with the present Rites and Ceremonys of the Church, abstracted from its Doctrine and Discipline, the expediency of encreasing the number of its Rites and Ceremonys, its Union with the Gallican Church, its greater distance from Dissenters, and its independency from the State, tho it have such large Civil Privileges and Coercive Powers. These men think the Church in no danger of any thing, but of a farther Reformation in its Constitution Worship and Discipline, and a more absolute and impartial Toleration of those that dissent from it. To say the truth, I don't

Bp Parker's Account of the Govern. of the Christian Church, p. 10. 66. *Dr. Heylins Life of A. L. and his Hist. of the Reform. Wolf stript, Pref.* *Case of the Regale and Pontificat*, p. 179. §. 2. p. 101, 102, 224. §. 3. p. 214. §. 4. p. 240. n. XXII. De nuper. Schism. Anglic. Paræn. ad Exter. Sect 5[illegible],54.

know but that the admission of Dissenters into Offices may be an improper means to preserve these mens Church, tho I can't see how even this can ruin or destroy it. And this is the Church in the most, if not in every
P.180.§.3. one of these Particulars, with which the Author of the Regale and the Pontificat thinks the admission of Dissenters to Offices inconsistent; and for whose sake he proposes that Exclusion of Dissenters, which Sir H. endeavors to vindicate. I wou'd only observe this by the way, to shew that this Exclusion in the judgment of the Non-Jurors, is thought the properest Expedient to introduce their Popish Church. And if this be the Church, with whose preservation Sir H. thinks the admission of Dissenters into Offices inconsistent, I wou'd not quarrel with him about the matter. But if he means, what he shou'd mean if he says any thing to the purpose, viz. that the admission of Dissenters into Offices is inconsistent with the preservation of the most or the best of the Thirty nine Articles; and what the Church has own'd as their Consequences, I wou'd fairly debate it with him accord-
Pref. p. 2. §. 3. ing to his own wish with Reason and Moderation. I wou'd hope this is Sir H's Notion of the Church. If
Peace and Union, or a Def. of Sir H's Treat. on the Ocas. Confor. Bill, p. 3. his Second understands him, it is: For he seems plainly enough by the Church to mean, the Church of England, as 'tis settled by the Act of Uniformity.

I. Now considering we have prov'd that the admission of Dissenters into Offices, is highly consistent with the Safety of the State, and conducing to it, methinks none that pretends to wish well to the Church, *shou'd assert that they are inconsistent with her Interest.* For to assert that men that are in every Point true and subservient to the Interest of the State are inconsistent with the Safety of the Church is confessing that the Church has an opposite Interest to the State, which is an acknowledgment that is not very likely to procure the Church many Friends, or much Credit.

Credit. For 'tis plain and notorious, that Morality and true Religion is ſo much the Intereſt of the State, that no Man can be entirely an Enemy or a Friend to the one, but he muſt be ſo to the other. And if any thing ſhou'd be aſſerted, that ſuppoſes the Church to have an oppoſite Intereſt to the State, it muſt at the ſame time ſuppoſe, that the Church and Religion are two things of a quite different kind.

II. But were it not a very high Reflection on the Church, as it in reality is, to ſay, that its Intereſt and that of the State are oppoſite; yet I can't ſee, as Affairs ſtand at preſent, how the Diſſenters, whom we have prov'd to be true Friends to the State, *can be* any ways inconſiſtent with the Safety of the Church. For the Church's Danger is from the Enemys of the State. When the Government is ſubverted, 'tis not likely that ſhe ſhou'd ſtand; but till it is, ſhe will. She is ſo well ſecur'd by the Defence of the Laws and the number of her Members, that 'tis impoſſible for any thing but her own Strength turn'd upon her ſelf, or a Foreign Force to deſtroy her. How then can it be inconſiſtent with the Safety of the Church to give the Diſſenters any Civil Power, who wou'd uſe it to protect the Nation from its formidable Enemys of France and Rome? And to deprive 'em of all Civil and Military Power, leſt they ſhou'd uſe it againſt the Church, is altogether as abſurd and ridiculous, as if half a dozen able Mariners, who knew as well how to trim the Sails and ſteer the Veſſel, and were as forward to defend it againſt Enemys and Pirates as any of the others, and were very well affected to the Government and Orders of the Ship, but who ſhou'd happen to think that ſome better Perſon might be found to ſay Prayers, and that ſome better Compoſure, or ſome more proper Poſture might be us'd than thoſe that were agreed on by two thirds of the Complement,

ſhou'd be therefore thought ſo inconſiſtent with the continuation of thoſe Orders, that it ſhou'd be reſolv'd to clap 'em under Hatches for the ſecurity of thoſe Orders, rather than have their aſſiſtance in a Fight or a Storm to ſecure the Ship, and the method of that Solemnity too. So that unleſs thoſe that wiſh well to the only Support of the Church, and ill to its only dangerous Enemys, can deſtroy the Church, the Diſſenters, ſince they are the Churches Friends by means of being Friends to the State, can't be the Church's hurtful Enemys.

III. But as the Diſſenters are mediately its Friends, ſo neither are they *its immediate Enemys*. And when we ſhall have prov'd this, I think we ſhall have left it beyond diſpute, that the admiſſion of Diſſenters into Offices is not inconſiſtent with the preſervation of the Church.

1. And this will appear clearly if we conſider, That the Diſſenters are *Friends to the moſt and the beſt* of the Church's Articles. They own and believe Thirty ſix of 'em (a Line or two only excepted) with their Conſequences; which are not only by far the moſt in number, but the moſt neceſſary. For they with their Conſequences include the Doctrines deliver'd in the holy Scriptures, and in the Creeds of the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church. And 'tis by theſe the Church of England is what ſhe is, a ſound Chriſtian Church. 'Tis theſe that diſtinguiſh her from Atheiſts, Libertines, Deiſts, Socinians and Papiſts; whereas her Conſtitution, and her Rites and Ceremonys don't. For they might have, and ſome of 'em really have, what's very near to her Conſtitution and her Ceremonys, and yet remain Heretical or Antichriſtian: And had ſhe nothing beſides 'em, ſhe wou'd have remain'd ſo too. But as 'tis by her Doctrines ſhe's diſtinguiſh'd from theſe Enemys, ſo 'tis in theſe Doctrines they oppoſe her. And 'tis in theſe the Proteſtant Diſſenters agree with her, and deſire to join Forces for their defence; and

wou'd as gladly enter into any Meaſures and Combinations with the Churchmen, to endeavor by Example and Arguments, or any proper method of Perſuaſion to convince ſuch Gainſayers of the Truth, as they have chearfully join'd with 'em in Societys for promoting Chriſtian Knowledg, and Reformation of Manners. And wou'd the Church then declare War againſt the Diſſenters, who wou'd aſſiſt her to protect the Bible, and to recover the Diſcipline ſhe owns is wanting; and leave the one expos'd to the inſults of its numerous Enemys, and the other neglected, only to defend Ceremonys and Epiſcopacy, or rather their Impoſition?

2. Eſpecially wou'd the Church loſe Friends of ſuch importance, and treat 'em as Enemys, if ſhe conſiders, that as the Diſſenters are Friends to the moſt and to the beſt of the Articles, ſo if they are *Enemys* to any, 'tis *but to three* and a Line or two of a Fourth. 'Tis falſe therefore to ſay, that the Diſſenters are Enemys to the Church of England, and a miſtake in Fact as well as Reaſon to tell us, 'That an Excluſion of Diſſenters from the 'Adminiſtration of public Affairs is abſolutely neceſſary, 'becauſe they are ill-affected to the Church,' as Sir H. insinuates. The moſt that can be poſſibly pretended, is, that they are Enemys to its Ceremonys, or to its Conſtitution, or rather to their Impoſition; without which ſhe wou'd continue to be the ſame ſound Proteſtant Church of England, as much as a Turk wou'd continue a Turk, tho he ſhou'd part with his Veſt, his Swaſh or his Turbant.

Pref. p.1. §. 1.

3. And then let it be farther conſider'd, that if they may in ſome ſenſe be ſaid to be Enemys to theſe, inaſmuch as they are againſt their Expediency or their Impoſition, yet they are not againſt other mens uſing 'em, or ſubmitting to 'em when Impos'd. They are as much *againſt forcing* other men to abſtain from the uſe of indifferent

things, or of things impos'd in the Worship of God, as they are unwilling to be forc'd to a Compliance with 'em themselves. These are the Principles of that Toleration which they desire and defend: Nor are they so narrow spirited, as when they talk for a Toleration, only to mean their own. Indeed Sir H. tells us, that they did not tolerate others when they had the Power. He says, 'they kept 'the Power in their own hands'; and I suppose means, that upon the account of Religious Differences, they kept it out of the hands of others. If they did, I'm sure they did not understand their own Principles, or acted contrary to 'em. And I hope they are better acquainted with 'em at present, and will hardly act in contradiction to 'em for the future. If they never learnt the Principles of an absolute and impartial Toleration before, one may very well imagine, they were taught it by their usage in some late Reigns. And a fresh Instance makes it reasonable for us to believe it: They having at the Instance of the Quakers, in behalf of their Friends in New England, whom they represented to ly under some hardships there, declar'd, That 'tis their Opinion that the Quakers shou'd not be liable to any Penaltys on the account of their peaceable dissent from the way of Worship establish'd in that Colony. A piece of Justice due to them, not only as they came under the Character of persecuted Men; but as they have done eminent Service to Mankind, in asserting such large Principles of Toleration, as seem calculated more for the Good of the whole humane Race, than the mere Advantage of their own Party: Tho at the same time none are greater Enemys to the Tenents of the Quakers, nor greater Friends to the establish'd Worship of that Plantation, than the Presbyterians and the Independents to whom they apply'd. And since the Adversarys of the Nonconformists are often inferring their persecuting Principles, from the pretended great Severity us'd

Pref. p. 2. §. 2.

us'd against the Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland by the Establish'd Church of that Kingdom: Let 'em by the same way of Deduction conclude, from an unparallel'd Instance of Moderation in the last General Assembly of that Nation, that the Protestant Dissenters have entertain'd larger Principles of late: That National Synod having unanimously voted, 'That all Ministers Episcopally ordain'd, 'who will but subscribe the Articles of Faith, and own 'the Presbyterian Government of the Church to be in 'Fact the Establish'd Government there, leading an un-'blamable Life and Conversation, shall be capable of all 'Ecclesiastical Preferments'. From these Instances the Adversarys of the Dissenters may fairly conclude, that whatever men of their Denomination have practis'd formerly, yet they wou'd be as far from persecuting the Church for her Constitution and way of Worship now, were it in their Power to do it, as they are unwilling to be hardly dealt with for theirs.

4. But the Dissenters are not barely for tolerating the belief of these three Articles and a half, and of their Consequences, but are for *holding Communion* with the Church that believes them, and acts accordingly. There might be indeed some pretext for saying, that wild Sectarys and Enthusiasts were Enemys to the Church: But what color is there for making such a Charge against men, who not only agree with the Church in a common Rule, and upon their own Principles must be for tolerating her in those things wherein they differ, but maintain Communion with her notwithstanding those Differences? The Church has all the Security that these men are not her Enemys, that either common Faith or the Sacramental Pledg can give.

5. And sure she'll believe *Experience*, if she won't believe them. Let her consult the History of the Reigns of K. Charles, K. James, and K. William, and let her try

to

to find any Inftance of the Diffenters endeavouring her ruin; befides the lawful and open Attempts which they made upon all occafions after a further Reformation of the Church, and a more compleat Toleration of Diffenters, which indeed fome men perhaps think the greateft damage the Church can fuftain. In the mean time I hope they'll allow, that the Diffenters were fo far from endeavouring to deftroy the Church in the Reign of King James, as to lay afide all attempts even of Reparation and Revenge, and forgetting private Intereft and Injurys, cou'd neither be brought into the Defigns of deftroying the Church, nor be hinder'd from giving her all the affiftance that was in their power.

IV. Thus it appears, that the Diffenters are Friends to the Church, both in Fact and in Principle. But let us now enquire whether the admiffion of Diffenters to Offices wou'd be inconfiftent with the Safety of the Church, upon the *Suppofition* that they were its Enemys. And even upon that Suppofition, it does not neceffarily follow, that they ought to be depriv'd of all Power in the State, becaufe the Power of fome Enemys is ufeful. And if the Diffenters, tho Enemys, fhou'd appear to be Enemys of that fort, the weakning 'em wou'd prove the ruin of the Church. The overthrow of Carthage, Rome's greateft Rival, was the deftruction of Rome. And England and Holland fmart in this Age for their ill Policy in fuffering Spain their formidable Enemy to be reduc'd fo low in the laft. The Power the Diffenters have in England is of the fame ufe to the Church, that the Power of Carthage was to Rome, or that the Power of Spain wou'd have been to our own Country and the United Provinces, had we maintain'd it againft France, when we faw it fo far declin'd. For the Power and Intereft the Diffenters have, and are capable of having in England, cements the Church, and *fecures it from the*

Attempts of worse Enemys. For whilst the Dissenters have Power, they will curb the Designs of those who wou'd go upon the Cassandrian Principles, and revive the Project of Arch-Bishop Laud; and who in order to it, talk of deciding Controversys between Protestants and Papists, in an Universal Council of Popish and Reformed Divines; who wou'd patch up an Union with the Gallican Church, commence a Persecution upon Dissenters, and who affect an independency of the Church of England from the Civil Power. These are the Formidable Enemys of the Church of England, who wou'd subvert her Constitution, and the Protestant Religion at the same time. But whilst the Dissenters have any Power, they will divert these men from their Attempts, or render them unsuccessful. So that since the Church is in more danger of being ruin'd by these men, who call themselves High Churchmen (but are nothing more than Ceremony-mongers) than by the Dissenters; and that the Dissenters can no longer help to ballance 'em when they are excluded from all Offices, and depriv'd of all Power; the Effect of such a Deprivation will be, that the true Church of England will find her self overballanc'd and ruin'd by them. And what mistaken Policy wou'd it be then in the Church to divest the Dissenters of all Offices, tho it did appear that they were its Enemys?

De nuper. Schism. Anglic. Paræn. ad Exter. Sect. 55. *Case of the Regale and Pontificat,* p. 224. §. 3. p. 214. §. 4. p. 255, 256. 179. §. 2.

But the Power and Interest of the Dissenters is useful to the Church, by being a *Check* upon *her* own *Members,* as well as upon her Enemys. The Jealousys of the several Professors and Pretenders to Religion, has been one of the greatest means God's Providence has made use of to perpetuate the Purity of Religion in its different Dispensations from Adam down to his Posterity in all Ages. And 'tis the Fears and Jealousys which the Church has of the Dissenters, that animate its Members to unite amongst themselves, and incite 'em from a no-

ble emulation to be more exemplary in their Lives, and to make greater advances in useful Learning. But were there no such separate Bodys, whose Reproach the Church fear'd, and whom she did not suspect of any Designs to take the advantage of Indecencys and Divisions, 'tis to be fear'd, that as Rome fell into Disorders and Factions at the destruction of Carthage; and as it happens to all Assemblys and Societys, whose Unanimity depends upon the Wisdom and Authority of their own Members, rather than of their Orders and Constitution, so the Church wou'd fall into gross Ignorance, more Heresys, a greater dissolution of Manners, remissness of Discipline, and into innumerable Partys and Divisions. If the Church therefore wou'd keep Disputes and Animositys from entring her own Doors, she must suffer 'em to live between her and the Dissenters; as the Senate of Venice does the trifling Quarrel among the common People, Which are the better men, they that live on one side a Canal, or they that live on the other, under the Factions of the 'Castellani and Nicolotti', to prevent them from falling into those, that wou'd relate to the Constitution. Since the Church then, to sum up this head, is in infinitely greater danger of ruining her self than being ruin'd, nothing can be possibly so fatal to her, as to rob the Dissenters of that Power, the Fear whereof is the best Preventive of the Ruin which the Church ought chiefly to apprehend.

Ville & Republique de Venise par le Sieur de St. Dedier. chap. dern.

V. But if the Dissenters are not serviceable, yet will it not be worth the while to exclude 'em from all Offices and public Employments, unless they are *dangerous*. But that they can never be, if we consider the ways by which the Dissenters can do any hurt or danger to the Church, which are three; Force, Trick, and Legal Alterations.

1. It

1. It can't be ſuppos'd, that the Proteſtant Diſſenters, who are not one third of England, can ever ſubvert the Church *by Force*, who are twice the number. Eſpecially if we conſider, that they neither depend upon any Foreign Power as the Papiſts do, nor are well united amongſt themſelves as the Quakers. It can neither be ſuppos'd, that the Diſſenters, who are ſuch Friends to the Libertys of England, ſhou'd ever call in a Foreign Aid to deſtroy the Church; or that they who never agreed amongſt themſelves for their own Security, ſhou'd ever be able to conſpire and bring about the Ruin of an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, which has all the Defence the Laws can give it.

2. Nor can they ever *defeat* thoſe *Laws* by being in Offices, and having the execution of thoſe Laws committed to 'em; how much ſoever Sir H. may think 'hindring 'the Diſſenters from getting into public Employments a 'proper method to tranſmit the Church ſecurely ſettl'd 'to Poſterity'. For there are but very few Diſſenters among the Gentry or Profeſſions (if we'll believe Dr. Davenant, who has great skill in numbring the People) and conſequently but a very few capable of public Employments: And amongſt thoſe that are capable, there will be a ſmaller number ever employ'd, conſidering that the diſpoſal of Places muſt, according to our Laws, be always in the hands of a Member of the Eſtabliſh'd Church. And how many watchful *Eyes* will there be conſtantly upon theſe *few inconſiderable* Officers, to prevent 'em from defeating the Laws, or doing any thing to the detriment of the Church? Or if they ſhou'd not be prevented, how open and *eaſy* will the *Remedys* ly againſt them, which are provided againſt Officers, that fail in the diſcharge of their Duty? And this ſingle Conſideration ſeems ſufficient by Sir H's own confeſſion to quiet the Fears and Jealouſys of thoſe that are Members of the

Ded. p. 2. §. 1.

Eſſays upon Peace and War, Part I. P. 248.

the Church of England, since he tells her Majesty, that
Ded. p, 2. §. 1. 'they are in a fair way of being determined by her Maje-
'sty's Gracious Speech, That her Majesty will always
'make it her particular care to encourage and maintain
'the Church of England as by Law establish'd.

And, why shou'd the Government think it *more dangerous* to the Church to entrust the Dissenters with the execution of the Laws, because of their differing from the Church in some Points, than to entrust those who mightily affect the name of Churchmen, but differ from it in others? What reason is there to apprehend greater Alterations to the Church, by entrusting the execution of the Laws with those that are for lessening the number of Ceremonys, than with those that wou'd encrease 'em? With those that are for no human Impositions, or those that are against a Toleration? With those that only mind the Doctrin and Discipline of the Church, or those that are concern'd about nothing but its Ceremonys and Constitution? With those who wou'd have it comprehend and take in some of the Protestant Dissenters, or those that wou'd unite the Church of England with the Popish Church of France? Or, lastly, with those who wou'd have the Church have no Powers, but such as are distinct from those of the State, and which no State lays claim to; or those who wou'd have the Church retain all its Powers, and acquire an independency from the Civil Government? Since there's no danger fear'd from these Church Dissenters, nor no Exclusion of them attempted, tho the Alterations they wou'd introduce, are infinitely more dangerous and more likely than those the others are suppos'd to aim at, 'tis certain, that the danger of Alterations by the Dissenters defeating the Laws, how well soever it may serve for a Pretence, cannot be the reason of their Exclusion.

3. But

3. But tho theſe are the only dangers the Church can fear from the Diſſenters, whilſt the Laws continue as they are, yet the moſt ſpecious Pretence of danger is the Alterations ſhe may apprehend from a number of Diſſenters in the Legiſlature, who might get it into their power to *alter the Laws*, that ſettle her Conſtitution or ſecure it. Poſſibly this is the Power to deſtroy the Eſtabliſh'd Church, which Sir H. might have in his Eye, when he ſays, 'that the Diſſenters who contend for any thing 'more than Liberty of Conſcience' (from which he always takes great care to ſeparate the Liberty of enjoying a Place) 'are contending for'. And indeed as Legal Alterations are the only Alterations the Diſſenters have the inclination to attempt, ſo they are ſuch as the Church neither pretends nor deſires to be exempt from. If ſhe had, ſhe had precluded her ſelf from the Benefit ſhe thinks ſhe has receiv'd from the Act of Uniformity in 62. And wou'd preclude her ſelf from any other Alteration, which the Wiſdom of the Nation may think for her Advantage. Perhaps indeed it may be ſaid, that ſhe wou'd ſecure her ſelf againſt any Alterations that a majority of Diſſenters in Parliament cou'd be ſuppos'd to make. But there is ſo inconſiderable a number of Diſſenters among the Nobility, Gentry, or Profeſſions, and conſequently ſo very few that are ever likely to come into Parliament, that the danger that can be fear'd from their Parliamentary Alterations, is but barely poſſible, and therefore what no wiſe man ſhou'd provide againſt. But if there were any real danger from hence as there is in a manner none at all, yet if this were the only danger the Church was in from the Diſſenters, ſhe wou'd be in no danger of any Alterations, but *ſuch as all Conſtitutions* muſt be in in a Free Government. And if ſhe deſires a Security againſt Parliamentary Alterations, ſhe deſires a greater Security than our Civil Conſtitution either has,

B. p.3.§.5.

or is capable of having. Our Government precludes it ſelf from no Parliamentary Alterations, becauſe it ſuppoſes that thoſe Alterations will be for the good, and agreeable to the Inclinations of the People; or elſe that the Alterations will not continue. The Church has this Security as much as the State: And methinks 'tis unworthy of any Churchman to diſcover the fears of ſuch Alterations from the Diſſenters, as ſhall be agreeable to the majority of the Repreſentatives, and of thoſe they repreſent. But if the Church had a mind to be ſecur'd againſt Parliamentary Alterations, to exclude the Diſſenters from Offices, and thereby in a good meaſure from Parliament, wou'd, inſtead of giving the Church that Security, *leave her the more expos'd.* She wou'd then lie open to all the Alterations of the High Churchmen, whereas the beſt Security our Conſtitution can poſſibly give her againſt any Alterations whatſoever, is to ballance the Power of the Diſſenters and the High Flyers; and by keeping both in Offices, or at leaſt both capable of 'em, to keep one a conſtant check upon the other.

VI. But let us put the Caſe yet farther. Let us ſuppoſe the Diſſenters no Friends to the Church, either by ſerving her or the State; nay, let us ſuppoſe 'em prejudicial and dangerous Enemys; and ſtill it will not follow, that the admiſſion of Diſſenters to Offices, is inconſiſtent with the Safety of the Church, becauſe reſtraining 'em from Offices by preventing Occaſional Conformity, will be *ineffectual to ſecure* the Church, and will really endanger it. If reſtraining 'em from Offices wou'd ſecure the Church, it muſt do it either by drawing the Diſſenters over to the Church, or by diveſting 'em of all Power if they keep at their preſent diſtance. But it will do neither.

1. When I ſay that reſtraining the Diſſenters from Offices, won't bring the Diſſenters over to the Church,

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I mean, that it won't bring over any to *profess* the Establish'd way of Worship: The Dissenters stood the shock of a long Persecution, and suffer'd many Penaltys, which were not to be avoided but by professing the National Religion, rather than be brought to make that Profession. But the incapacitating a Man for an Office only for going to a Meeting, is not so much as calculated to make men profess themselves to be Churchmen. It can only hinder 'em from being Dissenters, whilst it leaves 'em at liberty to be Libertines, Deists or Atheists, if they please.

But, if an Incapacity for all Employments upon going to a Meeting, shou'd prove more effectual to make men take up the Profession of the Establish'd way of Worship than Fines and Imprisonments, what Service in the next place cou'd a bare Profession of the Establish'd way of Worship do the Church, unless Conviction attended it? The Church cou'd expect no Strength, Friendship or Obedience from men, that were brought into it by the Fears of Loss, or the Hopes of Gain: If any men cou'd support the Church, but those that come into it freely and of their own accord, the Church and Religion must be different things. For if it can be suppos'd, that the Church cou'd be serv'd by Hypocrisy, I think there's no need to prove that Religion can't. And 'tis impossible that excluding the Dissenters from Offices *shou'd alter their Opinions*, or win their Affections. Since we have prov'd this Exclusion to be a Penalty, and have brought several Arguments to shew, that Penaltys can't convince, and have had Sir H's concurrent Opinion for it.

Part I. p.21—27. 34—37.

2. And as this Exclusion can't secure the Church by encreasing its own Strength, so neither can it secure her by *weakning her Enemys*. For if the Dissenters evade the Laws in being, as is pretended, and get into

Places by Hypocriſy, and the preventing Occaſional Conformity is deſign'd to reſtrain 'em from Offices, only by preventing that Hypocriſy by which they evade the Corporation and Teſt Acts; what ſhall prevent 'em by ſome new invented Trick to evade any Act, that ſhall oblige Officers to conſtant Conformity? Nor will it be more difficult for a Hypocrite to evade that Teſt, than it was to evade the other. If the Diſſenters wou'd conform occaſionally for the benefit of a Place againſt their Conſciences, as 'tis pretended they have done, what ſhou'd prevent 'em from conforming conſtantly for the ſame End, when Conſtant Conformity ſhall ſtand in the ſame place that Occaſional Conformity does now? Hypocrites ſeldom know where to ſtop, and a debauch'd Conſcience proceeds from one violation of its Integrity to a greater. And there's no queſtion to be made, but that (ſuppoſing Diſſenters get into Places by Hypocriſy now) if conſtant Conformity had been made the Teſt, there wou'd have been the ſame reaſon to complain of 'em for not refuſing it, and thereby keeping out others; as Sir H's Second pretends the Diſſenters 'think they have to complain of the Church-'men, for not refuſing the Aſſociation, and the Abjura-'tion of the pretended Prince of Wales'. For that Author makes the Occaſional Conformity Bill a Reprizal upon the Diſſenters for the other two. And in that I believe he ſpeaks the Senſe of a great many beſides himſelf. Thus it appears that reſtraining Diſſenters from Offices by preventing Occaſional Conformity, if they are Hypocrites, will not prevent the Miſchief, and will encreaſe the Diſſimulation 'tis deſign'd to cure: And inſtead of hindring Mens being Hypocrites occaſionally, will make 'em conſtantly ſo.

Def. of Sir H. M's Treat. of Occaſ. Conform. p.10.

VII. But upon the Suppoſition, that the Diſſenters are dangerous Enemys to the Church, reſtraining 'em from Offices, will not only fail of ſecuring the Church, but

endanger

endanger it extremely. 1. For it will alarm and cement the Dissenters, who are in a great measure secure and divided. Such a Persecution must needs unite 'em in more prudent Measures and a more steddy Application to obtain better Securitys for their future Ease and Protection. And as such a breaking in upon the Toleration will *strengthen the Dissenting*, so it will necessarily *weaken the Protestant Interest* both at home and abroad; the only Security the Church of England has against Rome, its implacable Enemy. And instead of engaging all that wish well to the Reform'd Interest every where to join in the defence of their common Cause, 'twill introduce and increase Partys and separate Interests, Fears and Jealousys, Envys and Hatreds, Strife and Contention, and every evil Work. And the Effect of all this must be, that instead of forming a strong Body to oppose the combin'd Force of our common Enemys, we shall first divide into small Squadrons, and engage so warmly in our own Factions, as to save our Enemys the Expence of a Victory.

2. No likelier Method cou'd be possibly thought of by the greatest Enemy of the Church to destroy its Ceremonys, than to enrage and exasperate the Dissenters; nor to destroy its Doctrine, than to make her cut her self off from the Assistance of Protestants abroad, unless it be the putting her upon Methods that will *impair the internal Strength* of the Church, and even that this Exclusion of Dissenters cannot fail to do Because it will rob the Church of the Credit she has acquir'd by her late Moderation. For when she once begins to leave Arguments and good Examples, the proper Armour and Artillery of Truth, for Severity and Hardships, the only Recourse of Mistake and Falshood; all men will begin to suspect, that either the Church has not the right side of the Controversy, in those Points for which she persecutes the Nonconfor-

mists, or that her Clergy want the Zeal to promote the Truth by a due discharge of their Pastoral Care. For where she comes recommended by due Instruction and a good Example, Force and Persecution is not only needless, but prejudicial. Our Saviour makes no Conquests but by the Sword that proceeds out of his Mouth; and to make Converts by any other, is much more agreable to the Character and Doctrines of a bloody Mahomet and Antichrist, than of the Prince of Peace.

3. When the Church shall by these means have lost the Character of Truth in her differences with the Protestant Dissenters, and of a good Temper, it won't be strange if she shou'd *lose* a great many of her present *Members*, and of those she might reasonably hope to *proselyte* by the help of Occasional Conformity for the future. For as few People on the one hand take in those Principles, by which constant Conformity can appear unlawful to an
Part I. p. 19. Occasional Conformist, for reasons which we have given before, upon which account this Practice must needs increase her Numbers: So on the other hand, men are generally brought to desert a persecuting Communion, not only by those Imperfections in that Society which generally make it necessary to commence a Persecution, and the just Resentment they have against men that commence it, but from those Vertues which a Persecution generally begets in them that are persecuted, and the Pity that inspires generous Breasts towards men that are hardly us'd.

4. If then the Church wou'd continue upon the foot she is at present, she ought carefully to avoid the reducing the Dissenters to Extremitys; and shou'd give 'em such
Liv. l. 8. c. 21. Treatment, as the Senate of Rome resolv'd to give the Privernates, after a solemn Debate upon the matter, viz. such as may satisfy them, and which they mayn't find it their Interest to alter. For that Ambassador of the Privernates, who being ask'd by the Consul, 'if the Ro-
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'mans ſhou'd give 'em Terms, whether they wou'd 'not break 'em? reply'd, that they never wou'd, if 'they were reaſonable, but as ſoon as they cou'd, if 'unreaſonable,' ſpoke the ſenſe of all Mankind when in the ſame Circumſtances. If the Church ſhou'd make the Conditions of Peace with the Diſſenters ſtrait and ſevere, ſhe will loſe her Reputation; the loſs of Reputation will be attended with the loſs of her Members, as we have juſt now remark'd; and the loſs of them will endanger her *Privileges and Powers:* Which People will be apt to grudg her, and be willing to let thoſe ſhare (for their better Security) whom ſhe wou'd oppreſs. It was the fury of the Sectarys that procur'd the Church her Eſtabliſhment at the Reſtoration; and the Perſecutions of the Church that procur'd the Diſſenters their Toleration at the Revolution. Such is the Courſe of things, and of mens Paſſions. They run from one Extreme to the other, and a diſpoſition to Reparation and Pity generally ſucceeds to a fit of Injurioufneſs and Rage.

From what has been hitherto ſaid, one may naturally draw theſe two Conſequences. Firſt, that if the Diſſenters wou'd have acted as Party-men, and have only conſulted their private Intereſt, they muſt have *gladly ſeen* the *Occaſional Conformity Bill paſt* into a Law, and ſuffer'd it to have gone thro the Houſes quietly, without any oppoſition. For it wou'd have prevented a Practice that will weaken their Party, and have brought on a Perſecution that muſt have done it conſiderable Service. But they gave the greateſt Demonſtrations of a Mind well-affected to their Country and of a truly public Spirit, in forgoing ſuch narrow Advantages rather than ſee an Expedient loſt, that is the likelieſt of any within our view, to extirpate Faction in Church and State; and in reſolving to bear Reproaches from Party-men and Bigots of all ſides, before they wou'd be wanting in any Endeavors

to keep a door open, by which honest men of all denominations enter public Posts, and each others Communion.

The other is an Answer to a Question that may arise from what we have said. For possibly it may be ask'd after all this, *What Course must be taken* with the Dissenters, since excluding 'em all Offices can be neither serviceable to Church nor State, and must prove prejudicial to 'em both? Herennius Pontius being ask'd by his Country-men the Samnites, how they shou'd use the Roman Army when they had it in their power, having block'd it up in the Straits of Caudium, sent 'em two
Liv. l. 9. c. 3. Answers: 'First, that they shou'd let 'em all go, and 'afterwards that they shou'd not let a Man escape. I wou'd make a like Reply. Either deal with the Dissenters as true Friends to the Church and State, or as dangerous Enemys. If they shall be thought dangerous, they ought to be secur'd and divested of all manner of Power whatsoever, and to be confiscated, banish'd, and proscrib'd. But if they are true Friends, let 'em be impartially treated, and have the same Protection and Countenance with other Subjects. And then being Friends to the Government in Principle, Passion cou'd not make 'em its Enemys. But Principle and Interest both concurring, must make 'em as true to the Government, as any Conformist whatsoever. But to deal with 'em in some Instances as Friends, and in others as Enemys; to divest 'em of some Power, and not of all, is to provoke 'em to contrive illegal Methods, and to leave 'em strength enough to put 'em in execution. This mistaken Policy was the Samnites Ruin, and must be ours, if the Dissenters were not better Christians and better Subjects than some are willing to represent 'em.

By this time I promise my self, that 'tis very evident there's no reason to incapacitate the Dissenters for all Offices, because that admitting 'em to Offices wou'd be inconsistent with the Safety of the Church and State. We'll now proceed to examine Sir H's second Argument, and see whether '*The Admission of Dissenters to Offices be* '*inconsistent with the Practice of all wise Governments in* '*the World*, and of those very Countrys in particular, 'that give the greatest Indulgence to tender Consciences.' Which Sir H. affirms, and from thence concludes, that we ought to incapacitate the Dissenters for all Offices, in imitation of their Example. B. p. 1. §. 1. p. 4. §. 3.

I. But two things go to make an Example; the Truth of the Fact, and the reason of that Fact's holding in the case in which 'tis propos'd to our Imitation. But it falls out unhappily for Sir H's Argument, that neither of these are to be found in the case before us. And if this can be made out, I suppose this Argument will be thought sufficiently answer'd.

1. *The Fact is not true*, that all wise Governments have preserv'd the public Administration in the hands of Persons of one and the same Persuasion in matters of Religion. Many Instances have been produc'd to the contrary out of antient and modern Story. And it has been prov'd beyond dispute, that admitting Dissenters to the highest Posts in Camps and Councils, has been a thing frequently and advantageously practis'd in the Egyptian, Assyrian, Median, Persian, Grecian, and Roman Monarchys, and in the Jewish Nation: And that it continues to be the Custom in several Electorates, distinct Sovereigntys, and free Citys of the German Empire; in Bohemia, Hungary, Scotland, and the United Provinces *.

Moderat. a Vertue, p. 35. ad ult. A Letter to Sir H. concerning his Treatise about Occas. Conform. by J. Lacy Esq; p. 5. Peace without Union, p. 2, 3, 4, 5.

2. Sir

* *I chose to refer to the Instances of admitting Dissenters to all Offices that are*

2. Sir H. has indeed prudently limited his Aſſertion to modern Times, to general Caſes, ordinary Occaſions, and to Countrys that have eſtabliſh'd a national Religion by Acts of Uniformity, as in this Kingdom. He *propoſes* his Aſſertion and Exceptions in the firſt and ſecond Paragraphs in this manner : 'All wiſe Nations in the 'World, even thoſe who give the greateſt Indulgence to 'Conſciences truly ſcrupulous, how different ſoever 'their Conſtitution of Government may be in other re'ſpects (and here by the way, notwithſtanding, or ſome word of like ſignification is left out, or elſe the Conſtruction will be thus, how different ſoever) 'whatever 'has bin practis'd in antient Times, in particular Caſes, 'or on extraordinary Occaſions,' &c. And a little alter he adds, 'And where a national Church has been eſta'bliſh'd by Acts of Uniformity as in this Kingdom, &c. I'm very glad that where Sir H. has ſo little

B. p. 1. §. 1, 2.

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are produc'd in thoſe Treatiſes, rather than to quote them or add many others my ſelf, that I mayn't take up my Readers time with what they may have ſeen on this Subject before, and that they may be the better ſatisfy'd in the Authority of theſe Examples, than they can be in any new ones ; ſince neither Sir H. who has wrote ſince Moderation a Vertue *came out, nor any of the Pamphlets that have appear'd in anſwer* to that, or to the Letter to Sir H. *or* Peace without Union, *pretend to deny 'em to be matters of Fact. So that I'll add but a few Obſervations.*

The Jewiſh Nation had a Conſtitution which was deſign'd for no other end, than to raiſe Expectations in the World of the Coming of the Meſſiah, and to prepare things ſo for his Coming, that he might be known when he came : And therefore no Precedents for ſecluding Laws that cou'd be brought from a Government erected for ſo peculiar an end, can recommend 'em to other Governments that are eſtabliſh'd for the Advantage of the Community, *and for its Enlargement and Increaſe. But yet even this Conſtitution admitted the numerous Sect of the Sadducees and the Eſſenes to ſhare the moſt conſiderable Employments (as appears by the Writings of Joſephus and the Evangeliſts) tho they differ'd from the Body of the Nation in their Sentiments of Religion. It appointed no Shibboleth to be pronounc'd by the Sadduces or the Eſſenes, before they ſhou'd be admitted into public Offices and Employments : and when they compel'd their Neighbours the Idumæans to a total Conformity, they ſmarted ſeverely for it. For by that means they pav'd the way to the Royal Power of Herod (whoſe Father was an Idumæan) who prov'd ſo great a Tyrant, that*

tle Reason on his side, as he has here, he neglects Grammar and Propriety of Speech. For that gives me hopes, that the many Instances of false Reasonings which abound in his Treatise, various and numerous enough to furnish a System of Logics with examples of Sophisms and Paralogisms of all kinds, are rather owing to the Hast occasion'd by Sir H's Zeal to appear seasonably in the defence of the Occasional Bill, than to that want of Capacity or Integrity, which one might suspect in any but a man of Sir H's Character and Reputation. And there's nothing gives me any difficulty in putting this Interpretation upon it, unless it be, that he has not corrected the false English

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that they resolv'd never to admit any Proselytes, who did not evidence the greatest Freedom in their Conformity. As appears from their Talmudical Rules.

Julian the Apostate excluded several Christians from Offices, which makes the Writers of those times generally inveigh against him as a bitter Persecutor of the Christians, tho he made no sanguinary Laws against them. But the succeeding Christian Emperors did not follow his Example, and in Revenge exclude the Heathens: There are Examples of Heathens in the highest Posts in the Court and Camp, and the Civil Government of the Romans in the succeeding Reigns of Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian the Younger, Theodosius, Honorius, Arcadius, Theodosius the Younger, Justin and Justinian. Such were Fravita and Generidus two Generals; Pompeian a Prefect of the City, with divers others. Symmachus was sent Embassador by the Senate of Rome, to pray for an encrease of the number of Vestal Virgins. Hist. Zozim. l. 4. circa fin. l. 5. Socr. Hist. Eccles. l. 8. c. 13. l. 6. c. 8.

The narrowing Laws began with Popery. After Rome became Papal, she presently answer'd her Character, and let no body buy nor sell but those who had the Mark or the Name of the Beast, or the number of his Name: By this means engrossing all Power and Privileges, and dispensing them only to her Votarys. This is the persecuting Spirit, and the most pernicious practice of Antichrist, inasmuch as 'tis one of the greatest Engines to support her pretended Infallibility, the very Quintessence of that Mystery of Iniquity. 'Twere to be wished that the Reformation had driven out of the World this carnal Spirit: whereas we can scarce give an Instance of any Reform'd Country where 'tis entirely banish'd. We seem to have cherish'd it too much of late in our own Nation, which has been on other accounts thought the head of the Protestant Interest: And have since the Restoration not only narrow'd the Church, but made several Laws to exclude Protestant Dissenters from Employments in the State, which too many seem to build other narrow Notions upon, and desirous to enforce by other incapacitating Laws, instead of endeavouring that they should be unexecuted or repeal'd.

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of this Paragraph, in his second, third and fourth Editions, when his leisure gave him opportunity to correct an Omission in the second Paragraph of the third Page of his Dedication.

But to return to Sir H's Exceptions: Let us suppose that they signify what they wou'd have done, if [notwithstanding] or some synonymous word had been added, and so they had been made to run thus. 'All wise Nations in the World, how different soever their Constitution of Government may be in other respects, and [notwithstanding] [instead of 'whatever'] what has been practis'd in antient Times, in particular Cases, or on extraordinary Occasions, &c. which is what, I suppose, Sir H. means by this Paragraph; and yet I confess after I have found out his meaning, I have no small difficulty to find out a good one. For besides that some of these Exceptions are groundless, and that others are within our Case, which Sir H. wou'd by no means have excepted; the Exceptions are larger than the Rule it self, and then we may easily guess how just the Rule is, that Sir H. wou'd have us go by. Why (1.) shou'd *Antient Times* be excepted? Is not the Wisdom of the Antients, who had more Virtue, and made a far greater figure than any Modern Country can pretend to, worth the considering, as well as the Conceits of to day or yesterday? Possibly Sir H. saw that the Wisdom of the Antients was against him, and so wisely excepted their Example out of the Rule. But methinks if he saw antient Prudence against him, it was not so fair to pretend to Modern Precedents without answering those Authoritys: Since the earlier Ages of the World reap'd as many Advantages by giving Liberty to all Dissenting Subjects and naturalizing Foreigners, as we do Disadvantages by our secluding Laws. And if Sir H. cou'd dispense with himself from answering these Authoritys, I think he

cou'd not complain, if we ſhou'd neither value nor anſwer his Precedents from Nations, that are infinitely inferior to the Antients in Valor, Wiſdom and Succeſs.

And why does Sir H. (2.) except thoſe Nations that *have not ſettled a national Religion by ſuch Acts of Uniformity* as we have? How does this Exception conſiſt with his Aſſertion, 'That all wiſe Nations in the 'World agree, that there is an abſolute neceſſity of an 'Eſtabliſh'd Religion and a National Church'? For if all Nations have ſettled a national Religion, his Aſſertion might have been ſafe enough, without excepting thoſe that ha'nt. But to let that paſs, we muſt here obſerve, that if there are Nations which have not ſettled a National Religion by Acts of State, and yet have been as peaceable and proſperous as thoſe that have, their Story may be as juſtly pleaded againſt the Excluſion of Diſſenters, as the Story of other Nations for it, who have ſettled a National Religion by Acts of State. And when Sir H. not only excepts Nations that have not ſettled a National Religion, but thoſe that have not ſettled it by ſuch an Act of State, as the Act of Uniformity is in this Kingdom, he may for ought I know have made ſo large an Exception, as to have taken in his Aſſertion, and ſo left us no Aſſertion at all. For if no Nation has ſuch an Act of Uniformity as ours, as I don't know that any has, then Sir H. don't aſſert that any wiſe Nation has excluded Diſſenters from publick Employments. B. p. 1. §. 1.

But if he has not excepted his Aſſertion, I'm ſure (3.) he has excepted the Caſe before us out of it, when he excepts all *particular Caſes and extraordinary Occaſions.* For no Caſe can be Particular, if the Caſe of ſober, induſtrious, peaceable Men, that have the Capacity and Integrity requiſite to diſcharge the Duty of an Office, and who ſubſiſt by it, be not ſo? and that is the Caſe of many Diſſenters whom this Bill wou'd ex-

clude. Nor can any Occasion be extraordinary, if ours is not, who are neither engag'd in an unjust War, nor a trifling one: But in a Contention with the potent Monarchys of France and Spain; with the Craft of a Politic Prince, and the Treasures of the Indys; for all that Free Men or Protestants can think worth the fighting for; And who were unhappily convinc'd by the last War, that one of these Enemys was not over-match'd by all the rest of the Confederated Force of Europe. In one word, what can be the extraordinary Occasion, in which Sir H. is not unwilling to admit Dissenters into Offices, if it be not this, when we have the most valuable things to contend for, and the most united Strength to contend with, and when we consequently want all our joint Powers to oppose it? So that if he means any thing by this last Exception, he means the same that he elsewhere finds
B. p.10. §.3. fault with the Lords for, and confirms what their Lordships so prudently asserted against his own Cavils, viz. 'That tho there may be some things to be found fault 'with, yet in a time of War, Alterations (such, I suppose, are meant as an excluding Bill wou'd make) 'are 'not only unnecessary but dangerous.

3. But tho these Exceptions are groundless and arbitrary, yet Sir H's Assertion does *not hold good in Holland*, which according to our Author is *not excepted*. For she is one of our Protestant Allys, of whom he af-
B. p.7. §.5. firms it in general, 'That they have all of 'em National 'Churches, and keep Dissenters from it out of the Ad-'ministration'. But Sir H. upon Enquiry will find himself mistaken as to Holland, tho that Commonwealth has been the Authority pretended to by all the Advocates for the Occasional Conformity Bill: From whom possibly he has taken this matter of fact upon trust. The United Provinces admit all Dissenters to Military Employments by Sea and Land, without excluding

Papists,

Papists, and not without very good Service from them. 'Slangenburgh,' a Popish General, gain'd a Victory the last Summer by his Fidelity and Courage; when a General, that was a Conformist to the National Church, had thro Treachery and Cowardice lost it and fled. By making it the Interest of the Papists to be true to the Government, thro their good usage of 'em in the Army, they have made them so against the very Principles of a Papist, which lead 'em to betray it. So much Interest sometimes gets the better of Principles, tho Mens Principles seldom get the better of their Interest.

They admit Members of the *English, Scotch and Walloon Churches* indifferently to the Legislature, and to all Civil Employments: Tho if a Subjection to another Ecclesiastical Authority, or some little differences in Worship or Discipline, make a man a Dissenter from the Establishment; the English, Scotch and Walloon Churches are Dissenters from the Dutch Establishment.

Nor are the *Arminians* excluded from making and executing of Laws by any Statute, tho they are a Faction in the State, and have always oppos'd the Authority of the Princes of Orange: Upon that account indeed they have seldom had the Favor of the Government, and the Interest of that House has generally kept the Body of 'em out of Offices and public Employments, and sometimes perhaps forcibly thrust 'em out of 'em. But they are excluded by no Law, and some few of 'em have all along had considerable Posts both in particular Towns and Provinces, and in the Employments of the General Union *: And have now a very prevailing Interest. A common effect of the violence of one Party, at last to raise the other.

* *For proof of this see the Extract of a Letter hereunto annext.*

No Law requires any Person in public Employment (I only speak of Protestants employ'd in the Civil Government in Holland) *to take* Religious Oaths, to subscribe or abjure any Articles; or commands 'em to take the Sacrament with the Establish'd Church, or not to frequent or communicate with any other. People indeed that have Civil Employments in Holland, generally receive the Sacrament once a year with the Dutch Church, or with the Dissenting Churches of the English, Scots or Walloons; but even this is done to comply with the common Custom, or to have the better Credit with the Government or the People, who are not free from all Bigotry and narrow Principles any more than their Neighbours; but not in obedience to any Law by which it is enjoin'd.

4. So that one wou'd think Sir H. had his Eye upon *Italy*, *Portugal*, *France*, *and Spain*, and meant them, when he said that all wise Nations trusted the Administration of Government with men of the same persuasion in matters of Religion: And 'tis these Countrys that Sir H's Defender produces as Instances to prove this Assertion. But 'tis *false in Fact*, that these Countrys admit none to Offices that are of different persuasions in matters of Religion; since they admit Papists of all sorts, who differ as much among themselves in matters of Religion, as Protestants do in our Country or in any other. Indeed there are but a very few of these Countrys that admit any to Offices but Men of the same Communion. But even all Popish Countrys don't exclude Men of a different Communion neither: Particularly the Republick of Venice, fam'd for her Constitution and Politics, admits Protestants to Military Employments. And this is to be said for those Popish Countrys that don't, that their Communion is very large. For tho the Romish Religion be made up of an innumerable company of Rites and Cere-

Peace and Union, or a defence of Sir H. M. p. 4. §. 2.

Ceremonys, and a thousand fabulous Legends and Traditions, she allows three hundred Differences in her Communion, and makes the Belief of the Pope's Supremacy the only necessary Qualification for it. Whereas we, who pretend to have reform'd from the Fables and Superstitions of that Church, make a great many things necessary to our Communion, which are not necessary to make a man a Christian. So that after we have narrow'd the Church so much, we have less reason to restrain Civil Offices to Members of its Communion than the Papists. But if we had as much reason to do it as they, yet those Countrys wou'd be *no Proof* of Sir H's Assertion; because they give no Indulgence to Consciences truly scrupulous: Whereas granting a Toleration is one of the Characters, by which he has limited his general Position. For he says, 'that those wise Nations, who give the 'greatest Indulgence to Consciences truly scrupulous, 'agree, that 'tis necessary to preserve the Administration 'in Persons of one and the same Persuasion. B.p. 1. §. 1.

5. So that I'm perfectly at a loss where to find Proofs for Sir H's Assertion. And after perusing his Treatise, I can find but *one single Instance*, and that but of one Country, to prove this universal Agreement. Much like the Proof that He elsewhere gives of a general Opinion of the Dissenters, and of a public Declaration of some of them in their Writings; for which he produces but one single Quotation, without referring us to the Book whence 'tis taken: But which is to be found in a certain Pamphlet, writ by an Author, who was neither fit to be nam'd to her Majesty, nor to be produc'd as an Evidence in this Cause. Ded. p. 2. §. 2. *An Enquiry into Occas. Conform. By Dan. de Foe.*

II. The single Instance Sir H. produces, is that of France under Henry III. But supposing this to be a good Instance, and that he had a thousand others of every wise Nation under heaven, who had thought fit to put the Administration of Affairs into hands of men of one Ded. p. 3. §. 2.

and the same Persuasion; yet this Practice wou'd *not be fit for our Imitation*, till Sir H. had prov'd that it was a part of their Wisdom (the other thing that goes to make up an Example) and consequently that it was a Practice which deserves our Imitation. But we have anticipated our selves here, and have prov'd at large that the Admission of Dissenters is so far from being inconsistent with the Safety of Church and State, that it is their Right, and the Government's Interest.

And this is all that I think necessary to be said to prove in general, that if the different Nations of Europe were as wise in this matter as Sir H. represents 'em, they wou'd be but very bad Examples. I shall only just shew *in particular*, that the Instance Sir H. mentions upon Dr. Davenant's Authority, is very unworthy of our Imitation. Two Remarks will evince this very fully. (1.) Henry III. who did not think fit to trust the Hugonots in the Administration, did not think 'em fit to live, and therefore consented to the horrid Massacre at Paris. (2.) It appears in the same Essay, from whence Sir H. takes this Instance, that the Union this Exclusion introduc'd was fatal to the King and to the Dissenters. For a Persecution was rais'd upon the Hugonots after their Exclusion; and the King having given all the Power into the hands of the establish'd Church, was forc'd to submit to all their Measures. And after he had call'd in the Assistance of his dissenting Subjects to defend himself from the fiery Temper of that powerful Faction the League, he was at last murder'd by a Member of the Establishment, at whose Sollicitation the Hugonots had been excluded.

Ded. p. 3. §. 2.

Davila's Hist. of the Civ. War of France, p. 347, 369.

Dr. Davenant's Essays of War at home and Peace abroad, Part I. p. 237, 238.

Davila's Hist. p. 800.

P. 817.

And to shew that this is the Design, or at least the Consequence of such Measures, the same thing has happen'd to the Hugonots under the Conduct of the present most Christian King; who first by his Administration, Judgments of his Courts of Justice, and Ordinances, gradually excluded the Hugonots from all public Employments,

Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, Tome 3. Partie 1, 2.

and

and when by this means he thought the Hugonots sufficiently weakned, repeal'd the Edict of Nants. Tho I don't question but he told the Hugonots as fine Storys upon the publishing of his excluding Ordinances, as those with which Sir H. is pleas'd to sooth the Dissenters. 'Twas without question given out, 'that the Design was only that matters being happily settled, that the Church having his Majesty's Favor, and the Hugonots his Protection; that both being secure from the Danger of one another, and each of them knowing the Extent of their Privileges; that the Church having no Power or Provocation to prosecute the Hugonots, nor any Hugonots being permitted to get into public Employments, whereby they might be enabled one time or another to destroy the establish'd Church; that the Prince and his Princely Successors being secur'd from a Party, whose Principles must end in the ruin of the Monarchy, and the Hugonots themselves being secur'd by removing the occasion of those Fears and Jealousys which had ever been the cause of their Prosecution, the great Blessing of Unity and Uniformity might be obtain'd in Church and State.' But as this Unity and Uniformity it self was a great curse to Henry III. and wou'd have been to Lewis XIV. if he had not had a standing Army, so 'tis the greatest Unhappiness that cou'd have befallen that Country in general, and the Hugonots in particular; and serv'd in both those Reigns only as the Prologue to the terrible Scene that immediately succeeded in the Confiscation and Proscription of all the Protestants, and at last in the utter Extirpation of the Reform'd Religion out of that Country.

Tome 3. Partie 3.

Ded. p. 2

B. p. 11. §. 12.

This is the Strength that History gives to Sir H's Cause. Let us see what Assistance it has *from the Law.* Sir H. insists upon this very often. Sometimes he lays it down, that the *Admission of Dissenters into Offices is inconsistent with the plain Intent and Meaning of the Corporation and* B. p. 4. §. 3.

B. p. 2. §. 3, 4. *Test Acts*: 'And sometimes, that a Bill to exclude Dissenters 'is to hinder those Laws from being evaded, and to enforce 'em, and to make 'em more effectual.

I. The words of a Law can only discover its plain Intent and Meaning, and shew us whether 'tis evaded, or wants to be enforc'd. 1. Now the Qualification requir'd by the Corporation Act being only to receive the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of England, once within a year before the entring upon an Office; and the Qualification requir'd by the Test Act being only to receive the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of England, once within three months after the Admission to an Office; no Dissenter is excluded by those Laws, but he that has not taken the Sacrament a year before he enters upon any Office, contain'd in the one, and three months after he's admitted to any, contain'd in the other. So that those Acts don't exclude Dissenters, but *only Dissenters that never conform* at all. But a Dissenter conforming once within a year before, or three months after he's admitted to his Office, is qualify'd according to the plain Intent and Meaning of those Laws, as much as any Churchman whatsoever; and has been always thought so in Westminster-Hall, the proper Judg of the plain Intent and Meaning of our Laws. Nor was it ever thought to be an Evasion of their plain Intent and Meaning, that a Man shou'd go to a Meeting after he had receiv'd the Sacrament within a year before, or three months after his Admission to an Office, to qualify himself for that Office, till some such Light discover'd it to be so, as gave Sir H. to see, that the King's Right to levy Customs without Act of Parliament, was a Law as binding as Magna Charta, and much more antient.

B. p. 1. §. 4. Sir H. indeed, to support his Opinion, says, 'that 'those Laws requiring all Officers to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Rites and 'Usage of the Church of England, did provide that no

'Persons shou'd be admitted to Offices, but such as did 'appear *to be true Members of the Church,*' i. e. no Persons that ever go to a Meeting; for that is what Sir H. means by true Members of the Church. Well, but how does it follow from their making the Sacrament the Test, that they design'd no man who ever afterwards went to a Meeting, shou'd be admitted to an Office? Why because 'the Dissenters then refus'd ever 'to receive the Sacrament according to the Rites of the 'Church. But how does that appear? Why (1.) 'by 'their general Practices in those days. (2.) By the Ar-'guments which were then chiefly made use of to justify 'their Separation. (3.) By the common Language of 'the Dissenters, in which, it shou'd seem, receiving the 'Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of 'England was no less than Popery and Idolatry.' I will freely allow it to Sir H. that those Laws did provide against the admission of Persons into Offices, who wou'd not receive the Sacrament after the Usage of the Church of England. But who were they? Sir H. don't tell us. If he had indeed prov'd it upon any Set of Dissenters in those days, that they never receiv'd the Sacrament with the Church of England; if he had given us the particular Arguments by which they justify'd their Separation; or if he had fix'd the calling Communion with the Church of England Popery and Idolatry, upon any particular Denomination of Nonconformists, we might have easily collected from thence what sort of Nonconformists they were, that refus'd to receive the Sacrament with the Church. But Sir H. expects we shou'd guess his meaning, and believe his Arguments and Assertions, after he has couch'd 'em in his quaint Periods, upon his bare Credit, without any Evidence, or any necessary Consequence to support 'em.

B.p.2.§.1

But I hope Sir H. will forgive my Dulness and Infidelity, and allow me to tell him, that if the Prac-

tice, Arguments, or ill Language he wou'd charge upon all the Dissenters of those days, belong to any, it is to the Sectarys which then abounded, the Familists, Quakers, Ranters, Behmenists, Vanists, Muggletonians, &c. But he might have easily known, that they did not belong to all the Dissenters; and particularly that they were *not chargeable* upon the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, the only Dissenters immediately affected by this Bill, and upon whom Sir H. without all doubt had his ey. To have been inform'd of this he need only have consulted Dr. Stillingfleet's famous Sermon on the Unreasonableness of Separation, reprinted lately for the Conviction of the Dissenters, where he'd have found the Independents quoted as 'owning the Parish Churches to be true Churches, and complaining that they have been traduc'd, 'by saying, that they look upon 'em as no true ones. He might there have learnt too, 'that the Presbyterians 'immediately after the Act of Uniformity, unanimously 'agreed, at a Meeting, held to consider how far it was 'lawful or a duty to hold Communion with their Parish 'Churches; that it was lawful and a duty to some, to 'join with some Parish Churches three times in a year 'in the Lord's Supper.' And fewer scrupl'd it at the time of the Corporation Act, which was pass'd in 60, two years before the Act of Uniformity, than scrupl'd it after the passing of the Uniformity Act, by which the Church receiv'd very great Alterations.

Unreas. of Separ. p. 21, 22.

How unjustly then does Sir H. accuse the generality of the Dissenters in those days, of giving such hard and unchristian Language to the Church? And how much more unjustly does he accuse the Dissenters of our days 'of setting up a dispensing Power in their Consciences, and of 'overturning all Laws for their advantage;' who have never express'd any such Opinions of the Church, nor can't be concluded to have any such, tho it were true that their Predecessors had? Nay, when Sir H. no where pretends

B.p.2.§.2.

that

that Occasional Conformity is against the Principles of the modern Dissenters, and must needs know that 'tis just the contrary.

2. But it may be, instead of saying that the Admission of Dissenters into Offices is inconsistent with the plain Intent and Meaning of these Laws, Sir H. meant to say, that it was contrary to the *plain Intent and Meaning of the Law-givers.* And this I shou'd the rather take to be his Meaning, because he insists so much upon the Occasion, Title, and Preamble of those Acts, to prove that the Admission of Dissenters to Offices is against the Intent and Meaning of those Laws: From whence good Arguments may be drawn to evince the Design of the Law-makers, but not the plain Intent and Meaning of a Law, which cannot be positively collected from thence, and must rather be infer'd from the enacting Part of the Law. But if Sir H. wou'd have dealt candidly with his Reader, he wou'd not have so much as pretended to prove by those Topics, that the Admission of Dissenters into Offices was inconsistent with the *Design of the Framers of the Test Act.* For tho he talks of the Occasion and Preamble of both these Acts, yet he must needs know, that the Occasion and Preamble he there speaks of as common to both these Acts, belong only to the first of 'em; for he scarce says one word in all that Paragraph, that properly belongs to the other. I confess this confounding of the Corporation with the Test Act does Sir H. a great deal of Service. The Test Act having more Credit than the other, which was a Law pass'd in a heat and a hurry; and which enacted several things that were excusable upon no other account. For it gave perhaps as extravagant a Power to K. Charles II. as was thought to be an insupportable Grievance, when assum'd by the late King James. Besides that 'tis an Act which has never had any countenance, nor was ever thought fit to be enforc'd. Some parts of it are expir'd, and others have been repeal'd, as having been found absolutely inconsistent with

the Preſervation of our Libertys at the Revolution. But whatever ſervice Sir H. might think to do his Cauſe by coupling the Corporation and Teſt Actstogether, and by inducing his Reader to believe, that the Occaſion, Preamble, and Deſign of the one, was the Occaſion, Preamble, and Deſign of the other; yet I think it was not ſo candid 'to depend ſolely on the Weakneſs of his Rea-'der's Judgment,' and to occaſion his miſtake, as he has done here: Unleſs one may define Sir H's Candor according to an Inſtance of it, (where others that were not ſo ſharp-ſighted wou'd not diſcover much Candor) which he makes to conſiſt in 'conniving at a ſcandalous Practice.' (Pref. p. 2, §. 3.)

But that we mayn't diſmiſs this Head, without ſhewing in particular, that it was not the Deſign of the Framers of either of theſe Acts to exclude all Diſſenters from Offices, it may be obſerv'd, That there is not the leaſt pretence to ſay, that it was the *Deſign of the Framers of the Corporation Act* to exclude all Diſſenters from Offices, that wou'd not receive the Sacrament according to the Uſage of the preſent Church of England; becauſe that Act was paſs'd before the Act of Uniformity in the Reign of K. Charles II, which conſtitutes and denominates the preſent Church of England, and makes it differ very widely from that which was the Church of England when the Corporation Act was made. So that unleſs the Framers of that Act had the Spirit of Prophecy to foreſee the Changes the Church wou'd undergo, it cou'd not have been their Deſign to exclude all Diſſenters from Offices, that wou'd not receive the Sacrament with the preſent and modern Church of England.

And Sir H. don't pretend to prove in particular, that it was the *deſign of the Framers of the Teſt Act* to do it. And the great Patron (*Earl of Shaftsbury.*), the Occaſion, Title, Preamble and Enacting part of that Law are ſo many Arguments to ſhew, that the deſign of the Framers of it was only to exclude Popiſh Recuſants. Indeed Sir H. ſays, (E.p.2. §.4.) 'That the Cor-'poration and Teſt Acts have been eſteem'd for ſeveral

' Reigns the great Bulwark of the Eſtabliſh'd Govern-
' ment againſt Popiſh Recuſants and Proteſtant Diſſen-
ters; and that one great Complaint upon the Revolu-
' tion, was the attempt that had been made to repeal
' thoſe Laws.' To ſuſpend 'em by virtue of the King's Prerogative, Sir H. ſhou'd have ſaid, if he had not miſtook what he was talking of, or had had no mind to be miſtaken. If he had ſaid, that the attempt made to ſuſpend the Laws by virtue of the King's Prerogative, was one great Complaint upon the Revolution, he had ſaid true indeed, but nothing that cou'd make at all to his purpoſe. His deſign being to prove, that the Corporation and Teſt Acts were thought the great Bulwark of the Church againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, as well as Popiſh Recuſants; which a general Complaint againſt a deſign to ſuſpend thoſe Acts by the Prerogative a little before the Revolution, does not argue. Indeed what Sir H. ſays, viz. 'that
' the deſign to repeal thoſe Laws was a general Complaint
' upon the Revolution', wou'd be a better Argument to prove, that they were generally thought a Bulwark againſt the Diſſenters, if it were true that there had been ſuch a Complaint. But Sir H. muſt needs know that there was no Complaint againſt the Deſign to repeal 'em, as far as they affected the Diſſenters. For it is very notorious, that great Promiſes of a grateful Acknowledgment were made by the Church to the Diſſenters, whenever it ſhou'd be in her power, if they wou'd not fall in with K. James's meaſures*.

After

* *The Biſhops in their Petition to K. James aſſure him,* That their Unwillingneſs to read his Declaration, did not proceed from any want of Duty and Obedience to his Majeſty, nor from any want of due Tenderneſs to Diſſenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to ſuch a Temper, as ſhou'd be thought fit, when that matter ſhou'd be conſider'd. --*And in their Advice to the ſaid King,* They deſire his Majeſty to iſſue out Writs for a Free and Regular Parliament, in which the Church of England might be ſecur'd according to the Act of Uniformity, *and Proviſion made for a due Liberty of Conſcience.—And in the account of that Advice, entitul'd, An Account of the late Propoſals made by the Archbiſhop, with ſome other Biſhops to his Majeſty, in a Letter to M. B. Eſq;* the Author has this Paſſage: I do aſſure you, and I'm certain I have the beſt grounds in the whole World for my Aſſurance, that the Biſhops will

never

After the Revolution, the late K. William of ever glorious Memory, in one of his Speeches to the Parliament in 89, told 'em, 'He hop'd they wou'd leave room for the Ad'mission of all Protestants, that were willing and able 'to serve him; which was a thing wou'd tend to the 'better uniting 'em amongst themselves, and the strength'ning 'em against their common Adversarys. Pursuant whereto, when the Act for abrogating the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointing other Oaths, was read a third time in the House of Lords, a Clause was propos'd to be added, to make the receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in any Protestant Congregation, a sufficient Qualification for any Office. So that a repealing of these Laws seems to have been promis'd and design'd before the Revolution, and an attempt was actually made to repeal 'em after it. So far is it from being true, that an attempt to repeal these Laws, in favor of the Dissenters, was one of the great Complaints upon the Revolution.

But supposing it was contrary to the design of the Framers of these Laws, that any man that goes to a Meeting shou'd be admitted to Offices, it will *make nothing* to Sir *H's Cause*, nor to his Argument; which can only be serv'd by proving, that the Admission of Dissenters to Offices is contrary to the plain Intent and Meaning of the Laws. And putting the Case even that it were the plain Intent and Meaning of the Test Act, it wou'd yet be the *worst Policy*

never stir one jot from their Petition; *but they will, whenever that happy Opportunity shall offer it self, let the Protestant Dissenters find, that they will be better than their Word given in their famous Petition.—The Bp of Sarum in an Apology for the Church of England, with relation to the Spirit of Persecution, with which she is accus'd,* says, p. 92. *That if the Church of England after she has got out of this Storm, will return to hearken to the Peevishness of some sour Men, she will be abandon'd both of God and Man, and will set both Heaven and Earth against her: The Nation sees too visibly,* adds he, *how dear the Dispute about Conformity has cost us, to stand any more upon such Punctilio's.—And indeed if any Argument were wanting to compleat the Certainty of this Point, the wise and generous Behaviour of the main Body of Dissenters in this present Juncture, has given them so just a Title to our Friendship, that we must resolve to set all the World against us, if we can ever forget it, and if we do not make 'em all the returns of Ease and Favor when it is in our Power to do it.*

in the Government, and *the highest Ingratitude* to the Dissenters imaginable, to turn an Act upon them, which, as a very Learned Prelate observes, was procur'd for our common security by their Assistance. *Bishop of Salisb. Speech, p. 3. col. 1.*

II. But to go one step farther. Supposing it were both the plain Intent and Meaning of these Laws, and had been the Intent of those that made 'em, to exclude any Man that goes to a Meeting from all Offices; and supposing that the Dissenters had had no hand in procuring 'em, yet those that made these Laws may have been mistaken. And unless the Laws and Intention of the Lawgivers appear to be just and advantageous, there's *no Reason that they should be enforc'd.* And when they are found to be severe, and prejudicial to the Community, there's all the Reason in the World that *they shou'd be repeal'd.* Several Parts of the Corporation Act have been repeal'd already, as being highly unreasonable and inconsistent with the Liberty of the Subject. And there's no doubt but other Barrs might be found out to prevent the Intrusion of Papists into Offices, besides those which keep out some Dissenters. And if these or any other Laws shou'd be found inconsistent with the Toleration, which is so unquestionable and unalienable a Right of Mankind, we ought to be so far from enforcing 'em as good Laws, or arguing from 'em as incontested Principles, that we ought much rather to give 'em the same fate, that the other penal Laws had at the Revolution; with which they ought in all propriety to have been bury'd: That having been the time when Persecution and Slavery receiv'd its deadly Wound, and our Libertys a Resurrection.

By all this it appears, that the most finish'd Prudence and Integrity conducted the Proceedings of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in opposing the Occasional Conformity Bill. A Bill which had no Precedent in Free Countrys, till Popery had overspread this part of the World:

World. Nor any thing like a Precedent in our own, till a Prince that Dr. Davenant tells us was a Papist, and who may justly be suppos'd to have had designs to bring in Popery among us, procur'd a Law at his Restoration, which this Bill was pretended to enforce. By rejecting it their Lordships have secur'd the Queen's Prerogative, the Libertys of the People, and the Privileges of their own House. For since the best security of Powers and Privileges is a good use of 'em, by preserving our Rights they have secur'd their own, as by maintaining their own they have secur'd ours. For by this means they have prevented the Resumtion of Power from the true Friends of the Government, and the perpetuating of it in the hands of its dangerous Enemys: And have at the same time indemnify'd a Practice, by which Men of all Nations and of all Partys have an opportunity of expressing the just Veneration they have for the Church; and prevented a Persecution, by which she must have lost her Credit, and given Reputation to the Dissenters. Nor cou'd their Lordships have taken any greater step than this towards securing the Church from the Rage of her Foreign Enemys, and the mad Zeal of her mistaken Friends; from the ill will of her own Members, from precluding herself from the likeliest method of making Proselytes, or from giving a just matter of Reproach to any of her Adversarys.

Essays upon Peace at Home and War abroad, p. 219.

The just Resentment of these Services from the House of Peers, that are as great as either good Men cou'd wish or ill Men fear, and which every honest English-man is big with; and the fair opportunity which this short Recapitulation gives us of expressing it to the World, wou'd not allow us to be wholly silent: Tho we are happily prevented from entring into any farther Vindication of the Proceedings of my Lords the Bishops, against whom the Cry has been the loudest, by 'a Letter to a Clergyman ' in the Country' upon that subject, very much to the satisfaction of thinking Men, and the justification of that Venerable Bench.

FINIS.

A Translation of part of a Letter from Amsterdam, in answer to this Question, Whether there was either Custom or Statute that excluded the Remonstrants from any Offices in Holland.

Amsterdam, April 8. 1704.

SIR,

I Was able immediately to have answer'd your Querys concerning the Remonstrants, because of my frequent Conversation with Mr.——; but not contenting my self with this, I made fresh Enquiries. And that you may see what Informations they gave me, you may be assur'd that there's no Law that excludes Remonstrants from publick Offices, of what kind soever. 'Tis scarce more than twelve years since at Amsterdam there was a Burgomaster, Mr. *Van Loon* by name, who dy'd a Remonstrant. 'Tis true there was a Faction form'd to exclude him, and Mr. *Witsen* (a Burgomaster yet living, whom doubtless you must know by the Map of Muscovy which he publish'd) was of it: He signify'd privately to Mr. *Van Loon*, that, if he'd communicate with the National Church, he should be frequently nominated to this Office: But Mr. *Van Loon* constantly refus'd to do it. You know that the Government of a Burgomaster lasts but for a year; and that to be continu'd, or to obtain it two years afterwards, he must be chosen anew. In the mean time he has the Title of an old Burgomaster, and some other Employments, as Deputy to the States, tho he is not made any more a Burgomaster Regent. There are many who have not been so more than once. Mr. *Huide* knew nothing of what was said to Mr. *Van Loon*, till 'twas too late to redress it: But he protested publickly 'twas an Injustice, and that if Mr. *Van Loon* had inform'd him of it, he would have put a stop to it. This Mr. *Van Loon* was no

Man of Intrigue, he had no Dignities but what came and offer'd themselves to his Acceptance. He has a Son who is Secretary and a Remonſtrant, beſides a Couſin that has an Employ in the Treaſury. A Brother of Mr. *Limbourch* was *Avocat Fiſcal* to the States of Holland, with this Circumſtance, that when he was nominated, they fear'd he wou'd decline the Employment. Mr. *Overbeek* inform'd me, that a Counſellor told him ſo as he was going into the Council: Upon which Mr. *Overbeek* deſir'd him to ſtay a moment, while he went to know Mr. *Limbourch*'s Reſolution. Mr. *Limbourch* reply'd, that he wou'd accept the Charge if 'twas offer'd to him; but added withal, that they ought to remember he was a Remonſtrant, and wou'd continue ſo: That if he made any Voyages with his Maſters, and, in any Place thro which they paſs'd, there ſhou'd be a Church of Remonſtrants, he wou'd leave them when they went to the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and wou'd go to that of his own Perſuaſion. Notwithſtanding this they nominated him. There is yet a Counſellor of State in Holland, whoſe name is Mr. *Hop*, a Remonſtrant. His Son, who is grand Treaſurer, and was laſt year one of the Deputies to the Army, communicates with the Church Eſtabliſh'd; but often upon Holidays comes to Amſterdam, and communicates with the Remonſtrants. There are doubtleſs many other Remonſtrants in publick Offices, eſpecially at Roterdam. Perhaps too there will be more now, for they are not ſo much hated as they were: If there have not been many, 'tis an Abuſe, and not by virtue of any Law againſt 'em. As to the Offices in the Army, Religion is no impediment at all: Papiſts are admitted to 'em as well as others, nor is it ſo much as neceſſary that the Perſon be a Hollander.

ERRATA.

PAG. 2. lin. 9. dele *againſt*. P. 3. l. 26. d. *i. e. the Houſe of Commons*. P. 7. l. 14. for *neither the Danger*, r. *neither the preventing of the Danger*. P. 30. l. 13. for *as we now*, r. *as Candidates think we now*. P. 42. l. 32. d. *or danger*.

There are ſome other leſs material Faults, which the Reader is deſir'd to excuſe by reaſon of the Author's Abſence.

FINIS.

allen gaf.

